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Regionalism and Recent Voting Trends in Virginia Politics: Focus on the Wallace Electorate

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REGIONALISM AND RECENT VOTING TRENDS IN VIRGINIA POLITICS:

FOCUS ON THE WALLACE ELECTORATE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Dorothy Susan Boland

1973

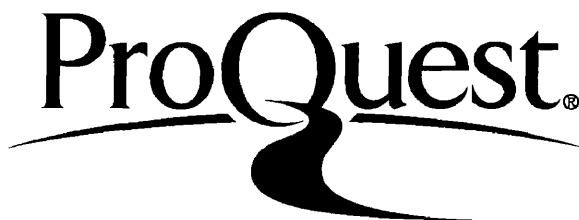
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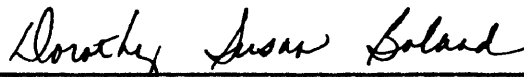
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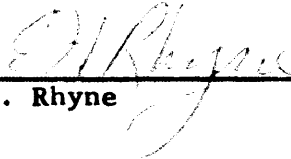
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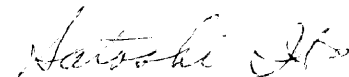


Dorothy Susan Boland

Approved, December 1973



Edwin H. Rhyne



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Vernon H. Edmonds

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to look at voting behavior not as a single deterministic act controlled by demographic characteristics or partisan identification, but as an act influenced not only by these variables but also by the geographical, historical, and cultural milieu in which the political act takes place. Voting is not an isolated act, nor is it determined, but it is influenced by all of these variables.

The state of Virginia was divided into regions and subregions based on geography, history, and political behavior. An attempt was made to explain voting behavior by focusing on the vote for George Wallace in the 1968 presidential election.

Various socio-economic characteristics were selected for emphasis as political influencers. The most pervasive influence of voting behavior was found to be the regional political culture in which the voting took place.

A similar method was used in the comparison of the urbanized precincts of the Richmond area. The most pervasive political influence of the urbanized precincts was the community spirit which overrode certain demographic or partisan characteristics.

It was demonstrated that voting was not a single act determined by socio-economic status or political identification but was influenced by this pervasive community and regional political spirit.

REGIONALISM AND RECENT VOTING TRENDS IN VIRGINIA POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this research project are threefold. The first objective is simply to study voting behavior in a unique state, Virginia. Virginia is unique in several aspects. The first and most obvious is Virginia's place in the history of this country, first as a Royal Colony, later as one of the first states, followed by her leadership in the Confederacy and later with her readmittance to the Union. Similarly, Virginia is the birthplace of more past presidents than any other state and has contributed some of the finest leaders and statesmen of this nation's history.

Virginia has also been unique in her status as a Southern state. Virginia left the Union reluctantly but joined and led the Confederacy with valor; Virginia has represented the epitome of Southern heritage and culture. However, with respect to politics, Virginia has remained an entity unto herself, separated from the rest of the South. Despite being part of the post-Civil War solidly Democratic South, Virginia had a political element foreign to many of the other Southern states--that element was an indigenous Republican electorate which has existed almost as long and as strongly as the solidly Democratic tradition. Virginia began (in the twentieth century) going presidentially-Republican earlier and with greater consistency than most Southern states. A final intriguing element of Virginia politics and the focal point of this research is the support received by George Wallace in the 1968 presidential election. In a state such as Virginia, which has had a political tradition

reminiscent of noblesse oblige on the part of many of her leaders, it might be surprising to find that nearly one voter in four supported Wallace. However, Virginia is still unique in that Wallace did not receive the degree of support that he received in most other Southern states. In this instance as in others, Virginia has demonstrated her unique political nature and because of this singular political behavior, Virginia is the focus of this research.

The second major objective of this research is to depart from a form of political analysis which has been emphasized in recent political studies and to re-establish an approach which has been underplayed. Most recent political studies have emphasized the "deterministic" approach to political behavior; i.e., voting is determined by partisan and/or socio-economic identification. This approach emphasizes that voting is "determined" by party or socio-economic status (SES) identification. This emphasis appears to make voting a predetermined, nonvoluntaristic act. This research will attempt to point out that while partisanship and SES are very influential factors in political behavior and on some occasions can appear superficially to be the only influencers, partisanship and SES are not necessarily the only nor the most influential factors in voting behavior.

The thrust of this study will be an emphasis on evaluating the act of voting not as an isolated act but as a culmination of all that has gone before it; the emphasis will be to look at the act of voting in the historical and cultural milieu in which the act occurs. To view the act of voting as an isolated act without considering the influence the history and culture would be analytically unsound. The historical and cultural milieu can at times be the most pervasive influencer of political

man. Thus the approach to this study will be a merger of the behavioristic and cultural approaches, a concept which has been neglected in recent political studies. The importance of viewing factors such as partisanship and SES within the culture in which they occur was emphasized by Professor Robert Ward, outgoing president of the American Political Science Association:

In recent years, political science has moved in two rival directions. One has been toward 'area studies' emphasizing cultural factors in the political life of the other parts of the world. The second has been behaviorism--analysis of political institutions, almost always American, by gathering and correlating statistical data.

The area studies people have tended to look down on the behaviorists as overly mechanistic, while the behaviorists have considered the area people inadequately scientific.

Professor Ward declared, 'The skill's in one skull'--the area studies people have to add the analytical tools of the behaviorists to their approach, and the behaviorists have to enlarge their scope to take in a greater range of cultural factors.¹

Thus the attempt of this research is to view political behavior within the historical and cultural realm in which it occurs. In many instances, political history or political culture can be the key elements in explaining political behavior. The cultural milieu and its influence upon voting has been neglected in the recent studies which have tended strongly in the behavioristic tradition. Through the merger of the behavioristic and cultural approaches, it is hoped that a deeper understanding of "political man" can be demonstrated.

The third and final major objective of this research is to demonstrate the pervasiveness of another related political element--this

¹This quote was taken from a report on the August, 1973 meeting of the American Political Science Association by Anne Crutcher titled, "Political Scientists Get Back to Basics," in the Washington Star-News, September 7, 1973, p. E-1.

element has been designated regional political spirit and community political spirit. This "political spirit" refers to a traditional political attitude or outlook which is evidenced through political behavior.

This concept can be demonstrated by a city (Virginia Beach) which used to be a county (Princess Anne) in the southeastern region of Virginia. This city has a very small black population (9 percent), is relatively affluent with high levels of income, education, and professionalism, and has low levels of manufacturing. Politically the city tends to be relatively moderate; however, in 1968, nearly one-third of the vote of that city supported third-party candidate Wallace. The political pattern of this city appears to contradict its demographic pattern; it has none of the characteristics of what is generally thought to be "Wallace country." By looking at the past political history of this city, it can be seen that this city tended to be Democratic prior to 1964, but supported Goldwater in 1964 and also gave strong support to Story in 1965 and Thurmond in 1948, both third-party candidates. The characteristic that all four of these candidates (Wallace, Goldwater, Story, and Thurmond) shared was racial conservatism.

The cultural tradition of this city indicates that this erstwhile county acts as a "bedroom community" for a larger (population-wise), urban area (Norfolk) which has significant black population and a strong concern over racial issues. Thus this city demonstrates through its political behavior a concern over racial issues which would not have been indicated by its partisan or socio-economic identification, but which is indicated by its regional spirit or attitude. In this instance, this regional spirit or attitude is the most pervasive influence of this city's political behavior. The most important element to be emphasized in this

research is that this variable, the regional or community political spirit or attitude (which is a reflection of the historical and cultural milieu) can be the most important political influencer, more influential than party identification or socio-economic status and should be placed in its proper analytical perspective.

This third and final objective completes the purposes of this study--to study the political behavior of Virginia, to emphasize a method which has been neglected (viewing politics within the historical and cultural milieu in which it occurs), to emphasize the importance of viewing the act of voting not as a determined act but one which is voluntary and individual and which is influenced by the history, culture, and attitudes which have gone before, and to view political man as influenced by a regional or community political spirit which are reflections of the past and present.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Introduction

The third-party candidacy of George C. Wallace constituted one of the more interesting facets of the 1968 presidential election. While this third-party movement failed by a substantial margin in its attempt to have the election decided by the House of Representatives,¹ in many other terms it was a striking success. It represented the first noteworthy intrusion on a two-party election since the Dixiecrats splintered from the Democratic Party in 1948 under the leadership of Strom Thurmond.² Nationally the election drew a greater proportion of the popular vote than any third-party candidacy since 1924 when LaFollette ran on the Progressive ticket.³ The electoral votes captured by Wallace and his American Independent Party (AIP) exceeded those of any third-party candidate since the four-way race of 1860 (Converse, 1969; Petersen, 1963). Had the pre-election predictions of the polls held through the election, Wallace may have been successful in his attempt to have the election decided in the

¹In the event that no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Constitution provides that the House of Representatives determines the winner.

²Strom Thurmond, then Democratic governor of South Carolina, now the Republican United States Senator from South Carolina, founded and led the Dixiecrats to show dissatisfaction with the civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform insisted upon by the Democratic nominee, Harry S. Truman (Phillips, 1969; Key, 1966).

³Nationally LaFollette ran ahead of Thurmond. However, in Virginia, Thurmond received 10.4 percent of the popular vote; LaFollette received 4.6 percent of the vote (Petersen, 1963; Scammon, 1965).

House.⁴ The fear of a lack of a majority of electoral votes on the part of any one candidate was sufficiently large to create serious consideration of reforming the Electoral College which did not outlive the outcome of the election (Scammon and Wattenberg, 1970).

Despite the pre-election to post-election diminishing of Wallace support, another interesting facet of this election was the distribution of the Wallace vote. In spite of Wallace being perceived by some to be a regional candidate, 41 percent of his support was distributed throughout the non-South. This facet, in addition to Wallace's overwhelmingly successful sweep in the South, makes 1968 a presidential election year of considerable interest.

Virginia responded to Wallace by giving the AIP candidate 23.6 percent of her presidential vote, or nearly one voter in four. This response was nearly twice that of the nation (13.5 percent), but was half that of other Southern states which Wallace carried with pluralities or majorities.⁵

The uniqueness of this election, both to the nation and to Virginia can thus be seen. This election will be used as a vehicle to discuss

⁴A month prior to the election, opinion polls were predicting 21 percent of the nation-wide electorate favoring Wallace. By means of extrapolation from Wallace's increasing support prior to this time, it was theorized that by election time, Wallace could possibly receive 30 percent of the vote thereby successful in his attempt to throw the election into the House of Representatives (Scammon and Wattenberg, 1970).

⁵Wallace carried Alabama and Mississippi with majorities and Arkansas, Georgia, and Louisiana with pluralities. Wallace also came out second in North Carolina and Tennessee. The states that Wallace carried were the same ones carried by Goldwater in 1964 with the exception of Arkansas which Goldwater did not carry. Goldwater carried South Carolina with the aid of Republican Senator Strom Thurmond and Arizona, the candidate's home state, both of which Wallace did not carry. Additionally, in the states which Goldwater and Wallace both carried, Goldwater received appreciably greater percentages--this would ostensibly be related to Wallace's third-party candidacy (Phillips, 1969).

recent political trends in Virginia in particular and to the nation in general.

Background

Virginia has long been considered part of the Old South as far as history, tradition, and customs were concerned and related strongly to the Old South political heritage, but Virginia also has characteristics of what is termed the "outer South" (Phillips, 1969; Key, 1949).⁶ The four "outer South" states shared a reluctance to join the Confederacy, and they also shared a phenomenon known as an indigenous mountain-Republican population (Phillips, 1969; Key, 1949). In spite of being part of the "solid-South" and voting strongly Democratic (usually around 70 percent), Virginia has had in the twentieth century approximately 30 percent of her vote Republican from the mountain counties.

Politically and culturally the Southern highlands have long been a world apart from the rest of the South. Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Appalachian up-country attracted a different sort of colonist than the coastal lowlands. English, Germans, and particularly Scotch-Irish left Appalachian Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia and migrated into and through the Shenandoah Valley and into the western highlands of Virginia and North Carolina (Phillips, 1969; Key, 1949). "The Southern mountains were more like themselves than the lowlands; the Southern mountains were demographically inbred, remote, and inaccessible and settled into a relatively isolated existence" (Phillips, 1969: 251).

⁶The "outer South" consists of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

Considering this isolation, what later became a Republican tendency in the Southern mountains appears to stem in part from a tradition established in Colonial times. The mountain counties had been traditional political opponents of the eastern Tidewater for several reasons. The western counties resented the traditional leadership of the state by the older, eastern counties. Also the land of the mountain counties was more suitable for small, individual farms and consequently the need for slaves was not as necessary as it was in the large plantation system of the black-belt lowlands.⁷ With the formation of the Republican Party in 1860, the highlands which opposed slavery and secession and favored the Union voted Republican against the Democratic Party which was the party of slavery, secession, and the lowlands. The mountaineers opposed the pro-slavery and pro-secession lowlands using the vehicle of the Republican Party. This Republicanism was further intensified by the Civil War and its aftermath and became firmly entrenched in the mountains (Pulley, 1968).

The Republican Party identification in Virginia changed after the Civil War and was no longer the party of the mountaineer exclusively. After the War, the party became identified with Reconstruction policies, and as the party which disfranchised the Confederate veterans and enfranchised the poor blacks and whites who had been unable to vote before the War.⁸ The Republican Party was then feared and hated by the whites of the "black-belt" areas; these black-belt whites began an attempt to regain

⁷Phillips (1969) noted that the term "black-belt" originally was used to describe the rich, dark plantation land of the South. The term later became synonymous with regions of high concentrations of black populations since slavery was a result of the plantation system.

⁸The Republican Party in Virginia also became identified with the Readjuster Party, feared after the War by many tradition-oriented whites. The Democratic Party evolved out of the Conservative Party immediately after the War.

their pre-War strength after 1870 when Virginia was re-admitted to the Union using the vehicle of the Conservative (later the Democratic) Party.

Virginia had no presidential election during the War or Reconstruction (1864 and 1868), but held her first post-War election in 1872. Still under the influence of Reconstruction and a new movement called Readjusterism, Virginia voted Republican in her first post-War presidential election (1872). After that election, however, the Democratic Party gained enough strength to turn the political tide in 1876 as evidenced by a majority for the Democratic nominee (Petersen, 1963).⁹ From 1876 until the 1950's, Virginia voted Democratic in every presidential election with the one exception of the 1928 election. After the Civil War, the Democratic Party became the party of white supremacy; the Republican Party was essentially overpowered by the end of the century and had no real political impetus until after the Second World War.

However, through the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, in spite of Virginia being part of the solid-South, thirty percent of the vote remained Republican largely from the mountain constituency (Petersen, 1963; Scammon, 1965). Additionally, some mountain counties had been electing Republican candidates to fill local and state posts for over a hundred years. Virginia was strongly Democratic, but not exclusively so as were many states of the South.

In 1920, the mountain counties aided the Republican causes of prohibition and isolationism by contributing 38 percent of Virginia's vote

⁹The disfranchisement of poor whites and blacks after Reconstruction was accomplished by new voting laws which included poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather and understanding clauses. The impact of these newly-enfranchised voting elements was effectively ended in the 1890's; the Constitution of 1902 provided the final legal prohibition (Pulley, 1968).

to Harding (Scammon, 1965). This support may partially be attributed to resentment of Wilson's internationalism following World War I by the "independent, individualistic and isolationistic mountaineers" (Phillips, 1969: 173). This was demonstrated again in 1940 when the mountain counties declined to support Roosevelt as they had in the 1930's, before the war appeared imminent. In 1924, Virginia gave Republican Coolidge 32.8 percent of her vote (Petersen, 1963; Scammon, 1965). The Republican support of 1928 (53.1 percent and the first Republican presidential victory in Virginia since 1872) gave Virginia the appearance of having the potential of becoming a presidentially Republican state.¹⁰ However, this trend waned during the Roosevelt era when the South, including Virginia went strongly Democratic. However, the mountain Republicans remained true to their tradition and kept even Roosevelt from obtaining more than 68.5 percent of the state's presidential vote (Scammon, 1965).

In 1948 due to the impact of the Thurmond vote in Virginia (10.4 percent), Democrat Truman defeated Republican Dewey by only seven

¹⁰The presidential election of 1928 had a greater impact than the simple overt dichotomy between a Republican and Democratic candidate. Al Smith represented anti-prohibition and Catholicism; Hoover was a Republican but he also was a prohibitionist and a Protestant. The vote was based on these other elements of the candidates rather than their party affiliation; in this instance religion was a very important factor and so Democratic Virginia supported Hoover. The areas of the strongest Democratic support were in the "Bible-belt" areas of Virginia and the rest of the South where the feelings of anti-Catholicism would be expected to be the strongest. But these areas were also subject to high concentrations of black population. These black-belt counties were also the most Negro-phobic and continued to support the Democratic candidate as a representative of the white supremacy party. It is interesting to note that predictably these areas of strongest Smith support in 1928 were the areas of strongest Thurmond support in 1948 and Wallace support in 1968 (Scammon, 1965, gives the percentages of the counties). These counties even held Democratic against Eisenhower in the 1950's and did not show evidence of voting Republican until 1964, at which time it may be thought that the Republican support was due to the perceived pro-segregation views held by Goldwater.

percentage points (Scammon, 1965). It appeared that the pre-Roosevelt trend toward Republicanism was again on the rise.

What followed in the 1950's was the development of Virginia as a presidentially-Republican state. Republicanism had always been an undercurrent in Virginia and now began to come into its own, at least in presidential elections; the Republican trend on the state level did not dominate until the 1970's. From 1952 through 1972, with the exception of the 1964 Johnson landslide, Virginia has given her votes to the candidates of the Republican Party. Republicanism appears to be waxing on the local and state level as exemplified by the 1973-4 Congress; Republicans hold one of two senatorial seats and seven of ten congressional seats. The 1971-2 Congress had six of ten congressional seats held by Republicans and was the first Republican dominated Southern congressional delegation since Reconstruction. The GOP began the 1970's with seven of forty seats in the state senate and twenty-four of one hundred seats in the House of Delegates (Dutton, 1971). The gubernatorial election of 1973 saw a decline of five Republican seats. However, the Democrats lost seats also; the gain was made by the Independents.

In the 1969 gubernatorial election, Virginia elected her first Republican governor since Reconstruction. In the 1972 senatorial race, a conservative Republican (Scott) defeated an incumbent, moderately liberal Democrat (Spong), and in 1973 the erstwhile Democrat, Mills Godwin, won the governorship as a Republican. This appears to demonstrate a developing Republican Party in Virginia, not only on the presidential but also the state level as well.

The revitalization of Republicanism may partially be attributed to the perceived liberalization of the Democratic Party by conservative

Southern Democrats. As mentioned earlier, the impetus for Virginia's surge in Republican strength dates back to 1948 when the national Democratic Party became identified with civil rights legislation. Consequently, conservative Democrats increasingly turned away from their traditional party affiliations to the traditionally perceived conservatism of the Republican Party. The dichotomy in the political structure which appears to be having increasing ideological import beyond the Republican-versus-Democrat dichotomy is the liberal-versus-conservative dichotomy.¹¹

What appears to be happening in Virginia and in other parts of the South is a shifting away from the liberalism of the national Democratic Party by traditionally staunch Democrats, and a gravitation toward the conservatism of the Republican Party. Consequently, this liberal-conservative dichotomy has the potential of having more political impact in the future than the Republican-Democrat dichotomy, as traditionally defined. There does not appear to be any major ideological change in conservative Southerners but merely a new label. This new-found Republicanism as opposed to the Republicanism which has always been indigenous to Virginia, appears to have substantially the same social base as previously conservative Southern Democrats. A further source of Republicanism in Virginia as well as other parts of the South is the professional, business-oriented, and suburbanite class created in part by the economic, industrial, and technological surge experienced in the South in the post-World War II era (Lubell, 1970).

¹¹This is demonstrated by the merging of conservative votes from both the national parties in congressional voting. This phenomenon has been occurring since the advent of civil rights legislation, but is a reflection of other changes as well.

The change in regional politics is not a phenomenon reserved to the South but is evidenced in other regions as well. The Northeastern United States, particularly New England, once the home of the so-called "rock-ribbed Republicanism" is now considered one of the strongholds of the Democratic Party. The rise of the Democratic Party can partially be attributed to the urbanization, industrialization, and ethnicity of the area, i.e., the Democratic Party is traditionally thought to be the party of urbanites, workingmen, union members, diverse ethnic, religious, and racial elements such as the Italians, Irish, Poles, blacks, Jews, and also the intellectuals.

Because voting patterns are changing on the presidential and state level does not indicate that party identification has changed. Party identification develops early, long before a child recognizes the difference between the parties and this identification is quite strong (Greenstein, 1965). Nearly eighty percent of American voters identify with the same party as their father; less than ten percent are confirmed Independents; and no more than ten percent make an effective party identification change (Pomper, 1970).

In spite of party identification being a strong influence on voting behavior, it is not the single, exclusive determinant. Campbell et al. (1960) found that about one-half of the electorate have supported the opposition party at least once in a presidential election. Key (1966) maintained that in any given year, three out of ten voters will switch from one party to another in their voting. In spite of party identification being strong and unchanging for the vast majority of the American electorate, it does not prohibit the voter from voting for the opposition.

When a candidate or platform does not reflect the opinions or interests of the voter, the voter will bolt his "natural" party and support the opposition. Party loyalty is then dependent upon its satisfaction of the individual's needs; when the individual perceives his interests are at stake, he will vote for the policy rather than the party. Virginia's recent (the last twenty-five years) voting behavior is an example of this phenomenon.

When the national Democratic Party began to support civil rights legislation in 1948, Southern Democrats felt their interests were no longer represented by the Democratic Party. Hence, Virginia has developed a very strong Republican tendency on the presidential and state level. This voting pattern does not indicate that Virginia voters have changed their party identification. On the local level where Democratic candidates are more likely to represent the traditionally conservative views of Southern Democrats, they are elected over Republicans, when the area is not a traditional or historical Republican area, such as the mountain counties. Because the ideology of the national party has changed but that of the voters has not, the voting pattern has changed on the national level, but the party identification has not, thus many voters retain Democratic identification but vote Republican.

This political identification is one of the more important aspects of political behavior. Two other important influencers of political man are socio-economic status (SES) and a regional or community political tendency or spirit. These aspects of voting behavior will be explained in greater depth in the following section.

Hypotheses

As mentioned earlier, party affiliation is an important facet in determining voting behavior, but as pointed out by Campbell et al. (1960) and Key (1966), in spite of the strength of partisan identification, voters do not hesitate to cross party lines when they feel their needs are better met by the opposition.

The studies of McEvoy (1970) and Lipset and Raab (1970) which dealt specifically with the 1968 presidential election and the Wallace voter revealed that the vast majority of Wallace supporters in the South identified with the Democratic Party. This phenomenon can be attributed first to the preponderance of the Democratic Party in the South (this further relates to the post-Civil War development of the Democratic Party as the white supremacy party and as a means by which to regain the South's pre-War congressional clout by continuing to support the same candidates and thus acquiring congressional seniority).

Secondly, the strength of the Democratic Party relates generally to the number of blacks in the region. The relationship between race and the Wallace vote will be presented in greater detail later, however, suffice it to say that the Democratic Party became identified as the white supremacy party and as such gained strength primarily in areas with significant concentrations of blacks where Negrophobia would be the greatest. From the findings of the aforementioned studies, it would follow that the strongest Wallace support would be predicted in predominantly Democratic tending counties, regions, and precincts.

Thirdly, Wallace had a long-term Democratic identification throughout his political career prior to his presidential aspirations. In Alabama, Wallace ran as a Democratic nominee as opposed to his AIP label

used elsewhere. And so Wallace would be expected to receive his greatest support from Democrats.

Political identification is an interesting phenomenon in Virginia politics. For example in Southside (see map 1-A), a region described by Phillips (1969) as the most "Negrophobic" region in Virginia, there has been in the past strong support of the Democratic Party as the white supremacy party (Southside has the second greatest proportions of blacks in the state). Southside held Democratic for Smith in 1928 when the majority of the state rejected the Catholic and anti-prohibitionist in favor of Republican Hoover, who was a Protestant and a prohibitionist. Southside being part of the heart of the "Bible-belt" region of Virginia, and thus staunchly Protestant, supported Democrat Smith due ostensibly to his partisan identification. The strong "Negrophobic" attitude held in Southside contributed to the region maintaining a Democratic voting pattern as long as it did.

The crucial year of change in Southside was not 1948 but 1964. Southside held Democratic in 1948 and during the Eisenhower fifties when Virginia became a presidentially-Republican state. Southside voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction in the 1964 presidential election when Southside supported the perceived pro-segregation position of Goldwater. The 1964 presidential election marked the only non-Republican victory in Virginia in a twenty year span of Republican victories (1952-1972).

As contrasted with Southside which voted Republican for the first time in a hundred years, some counties in the mountain regions voted Democratic for the first time in a hundred years in 1964 due to the perceived radicalism of the Republican candidate. Thus it can be seen that while

partisan identification can be very strong, it is not always an infallible predictor of voting behavior.

The second influencer of political behavior mentioned was socioeconomic status (SES). The three principal elements of this category are education, income, and occupation.

Education was found by McEvoy (1970) and Lipset and Raab (1970) to be one of the most reliable predictors of Wallace support. Educational levels (in this study educational medians will be used) will relate negatively to Wallace support; as the educational level of a region or a precinct increases, the support for Wallace will decrease.

The income category from \$4,000 to \$9,000 was found to have the greatest Wallace support (McEvoy, 1970; Lipset and Raab, 1970). This next to the lowest income category feels the economic squeeze the most and would be attracted to the economic liberalism of Wallace. Thus, income will relate negatively to the Wallace vote as did education.

The third and final variable used in the determination of SES is occupation. Within the occupational category, two major designations have been found to be most reflective of political behavior. The first occupation is the professional category. Within the professional occupational category, business, as an industrial category usually is proportionate to the degree of professionalism. In other words, when a precinct or region has twenty percent of the working force engaged as professionals, it usually has twenty percent of the working force engaged in business, thus in some instances the two terms, professionalism and business will be used interchangeably. The relationship between the percentage of professionals or business and the Wallace vote will vary negatively; as the percentage of professionals or business increases,

the support for Wallace will decrease.

The occupation of operative and the industry of manufacturing have much the same relationship as do professionalism and business; they usually vary proportionately. However, the relationship between this occupational and industrial category and the Wallace vote will vary positively; as the number of operatives and manufacturing employees increases, so will the Wallace support.

Generally the lower educational and income level and the manufacturing-operative categories are indicators of lower SES and thus would be expected to give greater support to Wallace. Studies (Campbell et al., 1960 and Lane, 1959) have indicated that lower SES white voters tend toward supporting socially conservative and economically liberal candidates which Wallace was generally perceived to be.

One occupational category which will apply only to the county and regional analysis and not the urban or precinct analysis is that of the farming occupation (and the agricultural industry). McEvoy (1970) found a disproportionate number of Wallace supporters (in the South) to be farmers. Thus Wallace support would be expected to relate positively to the percentage of farmers. For obvious reasons, this variable will be used only in the county analysis.

Another variable which will also apply only to the county and regional analysis, again for obvious reasons, is the degree of county rurality. McEvoy (1970) found that a disproportionate number of Wallace supporters were found in rural areas and small towns (in the South). (It will be pointed out in chapter three that there is one region of the Richmond urbanized precincts which does have a degree of rurality and this variable appears to be influential in this instance. However, in the

overall analysis, the degree of rurality will not apply to the urbanized precincts).

Race has always permeated Southern politics; according to Key (1949), race is the key element in Southern politics; the 1968 presidential election was no exception. The 1968 presidential election was the first presidential election where the impact of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the newly-franchised black electorate was felt. That presidential election year marked the culmination of several years of increased crime, riots, protest, and violence; it was a political year charged with emotion--for the first time social issues were taking precedence over economic issues (Scammon and Wattenberg, 1970).

The relationship between race and the AIP vote will vary with the unit of analysis. The relationship will be curvilinear in the county and regional analysis. What this implies is that in areas of either exclusively black or white population there will be low Wallace support. The black electorate was found by Scammon and Wattenberg (1970) to vote almost exclusively Democratic and this pattern was replicated in the exclusively black precincts of Richmond. The white electorate in a county which is exclusively white would be less inclined to support the sometimes perceived racial extremism of this third-party candidate. The relationship would be expected to increase and peak at a point of around 40 or 45 percent of the population (black) is reached. At this peak point the Wallace support will begin to diminish because with half or nearly half of the population black, at least half of the vote would be expected to be Democratic due to established black voting patterns. The other half of the electorate would be white and the vote would be divided among three candidates. Thus in the county and regional

analysis, the percentage of AIP support would be expected to increase as does the percentage of black population until a peak of around 45 percent black is reached and then as the percent of black population increases the percent of AIP support will decrease. The extreme points of an all black or white electorate would be expected to have little Wallace support.

There will be exceptions in some instances with counties which have an almost exclusively white population which have significant AIP support. These variations can usually be traced to other variables such as the county acting as a "bedroom community" for a nearby urbanized area in which case it would follow the negative relationship between the AIP vote and the percentage of black population found in the urban areas.

As mentioned earlier, the curvilinear relationship between the percentage of AIP support and the percentage of black population will apply only on the regional or county basis. In the urban precincts of Richmond, the relationship will be negative; there will be little Wallace support in exclusively black precincts and the AIP support will increase as the percentage of black population decreases. The reason for the differing relationship between these two variables is due to the differing units of analysis. In the county analysis, the county with the greatest percentage of black population is Charles City with 74 percent of its population black.¹³ Even this percentage is exceptionally high; the next greatest percentage of black population is Surry county

¹³All county demographic data were collected from the Bureau of the Census publication, General Social and Economic Characteristics of Virginia, 1970.

with 65 percent. However, in the urbanized tracts of Richmond, 30 percent of the tracts are at least 90 percent black with the majority being 97 and 98 percent black.¹⁴ Thus, in the smaller, more homogeneous and more extreme units of the precinct (extreme with respect to having units which are nearly 100 percent black or white), the relationship between the AIP vote and race becomes a negative one instead of a curvilinear one.

The smaller, more homogeneous nature of the urban precincts will sometimes show the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics (education, income, and occupation) and Wallace support more clearly. Again the difference is the greater homogeneity found on some of the precinct and tract levels which evidence stronger relationships than could sometimes be demonstrated on the larger, more heterogeneous county level.

Essentially then, there are four major variables: party identification, socio-economic status (education, income, and occupation), race, and the fourth, final, and most intriguing, the regional or community spirit, attitude, or tendency.

As was mentioned in the introduction, the elements of regional and community spirit were introduced as perhaps the most influential and fundamental elements of political behavior; these elements are reflections of the historical and cultural milieu which has influenced the past and present political behavior.

Regional political tendency or attitude can probably best be demonstrated by comparing two regions. Southside (see map 1-A) was one of

¹⁴All tract data were collected from the Bureau of Census publication, Census of the Population and Housing: 1970, Census Tracts, Richmond, Virginia.

the last areas east of the Ridge to be settled and is one of the major manufacturing areas of the state and has the second greatest regional percentage of blacks. Because of Southside's later settlement and the Negrophobia which has been a part of the culture of Southside, Southside has never developed the more nation-oriented, less parochial attitude of the Northern Tidewater. This parochial, Negrophobic attitude of Southside is evidenced by Southside's clinging to the Democratic Party longer than other regions of Virginia, by retaining the Democratic tendency in 1928 when the rest of the state went Republican, and by its support of Thurmond in 1948 being the highest in the state and by its overwhelming support of Wallace in 1968, again being the major source of the third-party candidate's support.

The Northern Tidewater on the other hand has several counties which have nearly as many blacks as some of the counties of Southside. However, being the first settled region and the historic social and cultural center of the state, the Northern Tidewater did not cling to the Democratic Party and Negrophobia with the tenacity of Southside. These are two regions which do not differ drastically with respect to median educational and income levels or number of blacks (in some counties) but which do differ significantly with respect to political behavior. The element of differentiation appears to be the historical and cultural milieu in which the act of voting is occurring. The regional historical and cultural milieu are also reflections of geography.

For example, The Northern Tidewater because of its location was the first settled region of Virginia and as such became the governing leader of the newly-founded colony. From this position, the Northern Tidewater developed into the social and cultural leader of Virginia.

Within this role, the Northern Tidewater influenced and monopolized Virginia politics for centuries.

The Piedmont was settled later and had more of a pioneer spirit. Because of the fast-flowing rivers of the Piedmont, the Piedmont became the manufacturing center of the state, thus a different history and culture developed which influenced a differing political behavior.

The Trans-montane attracted a different type of settler than the Piedmont and the Tidewater. There was some migration across the mountains from the Piedmont, but the majority of the mountain settlers were of a different ethnic background than the lowlands and came from the mountains of Pennsylvania and Maryland after migrating south. The land of the mountains was unsuitable for the plantation system of the lowlands and was predominantly divided into small, individual farms. Because the plantation system was not practical in the mountains, slavery did not become part of the culture as it did in the lowlands. The mountains had a different agricultural system, a different ethnic background, and a geographical isolation not found in the lowlands. With such geographical differences, the Trans-montane became the site of Virginia's indigenous Republican population.

Thus, the influence of geography upon history, of history upon culture, and the milieu of all three elements upon politics can be seen. The past and present regional spirit or attitude as a reflection of past geography, history, and culture can thus be shown to have a very fundamental and influential impact on voting behavior; it may perhaps be the most influential factor.

The community spirit is similar to the regional spirit; the only difference is the time element. Due to the smaller, more homogeneous,

more highly transient and mobile nature of the urban setting, the community spirit tends to be more immediate than the regional spirit. However, it is equally transcending and pervasive as on the regional level.

Using the urbanized precincts of Richmond it will be demonstrated that there is an overwhelming community concern over racial issues. Again it should be remembered that the 1968 election marked an era of increased crime and violence; the white urban residents were moving into the suburbs and blacks were multiplying their numbers in a unprecedented fashion in the urban sector until a black majority was reached. Not only was the 1968 presidential election the first election of its type in which the impact of the black electorate was felt, but Richmond now had a black majority. Because of the changing electorate, for the first time in a hundred years of Virginia politics, Richmond voted differently from the rest of the state--Virginia supported Nixon and Richmond supported Humphrey. Through their new majority status, the black electorate had gained the controlling political clout which had been feared by white voters.

This same time period was also one in which the issue of busing had come to the fore. There was an overall community concern over racial issues which permeated political behavior. This community spirit or concern was clearly evidenced in the political behavior of the city. This pervasive community spirit during the 1968 presidential election was an influential variable in explaining the support Wallace received. In comparison with the rest of the state, Wallace received little support in Richmond.

Richmond with a black majority gave Wallace only 11 percent of its vote in comparison with the rest of the state which gave 23.6 percent.

However, there were many white precincts which gave very significant support to the AIP candidate, support which reached percentages in the low forties in some instances. And in several instances this support can be predicted to be this community spirit or concern over racially-oriented issues. There will be instances where significant Wallace support will be given from areas of higher socio-economic character as opposed to the hypothesized lower-SES character of the typical Wallace electorate. The prevailing influence in these instances will be this community spirit which will be shown to be the most pervasive influence. And as such, as mentioned earlier, this community spirit or regional political spirit or concern can be thought to be the most fundamental and influential political variable. Demonstrating the impact and importance of these variables was mentioned in the introduction as being one of the major objectives of this research; from the earlier discussion, the importance of these variables can hardly be denied.

Method

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, one of the major objectives of this research is to emphasize the recommendation of Professor Ward that political analysis needs to merge the methods of the behaviorist and the culturalist. It is hoped that by viewing the political act and political man in their geographical, historical, and cultural milieu as well as in their demographic and partisan identification that a clearer evaluation of political behavior can be derived. It has been attempted in the previous discussions to show that any one of these variables, either the historical or cultural milieu, or socio-economic status, or traditional party identification, or the regional or community spirit,

may at any given instance be more significantly associated with political behavior, but that no one variable is clearly responsible at all times; the influence of different variables will vary with the situation and circumstance in which they occur.

For example, in some counties of Virginia the voting pattern follows a pattern which is strictly partisan regardless of who the candidate is. There are Democratic counties in the southwestern Valley which always vote Democratic; these counties have supported the Byrd family for decades. However, in 1970 when Byrd ran on the Independent ticket instead of the Democratic, these counties rejected him in favor of the Democratic candidate.

There are counties which vote in a pattern which has strong racial overtones; they support the most racially conservative candidate no matter what the partisan affiliation. There are other counties which are highly attuned to the tradition of "Virginia" and support candidates who appear more likely to further this tradition. There are still other counties which follow a pattern which appears to be heavily economically-influenced. What all of these variations show is that there is no one variable which is deterministic, which is conclusively and exclusively associated with political behavior but that the significance of the variable varies with the situation in which it occurs.

In the final presentation of this research, maps will be used almost exclusively. The primary reason is that maps are especially useful in showing historic regional political trends; they are useful in singling out contrasts between regions and county deviations within regions. By using a black and white contrast on county maps of Virginia (black representing Democratic majorities and white Republican

majorities), trends such as a shift from a Democratic to Republican tendency or a retention of the Democratic tradition or a long-standing Republican tendency can be highlighted and thus regional and county tendencies and deviations can be seen; from this historical political pattern, the regional spirit or attitude can be derived from the actual voting.

The second reason for the emphasis on maps is that on the precinct level, maps are most useful in showing community trends and contrasting actual voting returns with demographic data such as levels of income, education, and types of occupation. In this instance maps are the most feasible means by which to contrast these two types of data due to the fact that the voting returns which are based on precincts do not overlap with the demographic data which are based on census tracts created by the Bureau of Census. There are several instances in which a precinct will consist of portions of six or seven tracts or a tract will contain segments of six or seven precincts and so one-to-one contrasts and comparisons are not possible.

Maps are useful in showing trends by the overlapping areas of the precincts and tracts. A more stringently statistical means could be devised to calculate exact figures for overlapping areas, but the effort and time involved probably would not reveal data which would make the information much more persuasive than the trends and tendencies which maps will indicate. Maps will not be used to indicate overlapping voting returns and demographic data on the county and regional level due to the fact that only overall totals and percentages of voting returns and medians and percentages of demographic data are used; the mapping of these overall, general figures would not be particularly useful.

In the second chapter each region and subregion will be dealt with individually; a brief historical, cultural, and economic description of the region will be given and its relationship to voting behavior will be discussed. Through this historical, cultural, and economic milieu and the actual voting returns, a regional political tendency or regional spirit will be determined; the relationship here is circular--the history, geography, and their influence upon culture and the influence of all three of these elements act upon political behavior and create political trends and tendencies. Political tendencies are then reflections of the geography, history, culture, and economics of the past; all of these elements interact upon one another. By viewing the act of voting in its proper historical and cultural milieu, it is an attempt to follow the suggestion of Professor Ward to analyze political behavior in the culture in which it occurs.

The third chapter discusses the association between voting returns and demographic data. Again, due to the smaller, more homogeneous nature of the urban precinct, a clearer association between these two factors can be drawn. Further, the element of community concern or spirit plays an integral role in the evaluation of the precinct political behavior.

The fourth and final chapter will conclude and summarize the findings.

CHAPTER II

THE REGIONS

Virginia is divided geographically into three distinct regions--the Tidewater, the Piedmont, and the Trans-montane; Virginia shares this with other states of the southeastern seaboard (see map 1-A). These various geographical divisions are so distinct in nature that they profoundly affect the history, economy, culture, and politics of the region.

The settlement and migratory pattern of Virginia is instrumental in illustrating aspects of this phenomenon. After the original settlement of Jamestown in the Lower Peninsula, the colonists followed the rivers inland and northward into the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck.¹ Movement inward into the Central Piedmont, southward into the Southern Tidewater, and over the Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley, were the next major moves. The move into Southside was the last before the movement into the rest of the mountains or the Trans-montane. The mountains were settled not only by colonists moving eastward across the mountains, but also by Pennsylvanian and West Virginian mountaineers moving southwest down the Blue Ridge mountain range; this was the group which was different from the other Virginia colonists and the source of indigenous mountain-Republicanism in Virginia which dated from Colonial times, only under different political names (Phillips, 1969).

¹Migratory patterns collected from a history of Virginia county settlement by Robinson (1916). The Trans-montane pattern is from Phillips (1969) who paraphrased Key (1949).

The Northern Tidewater, as the earliest settled part of the state was the leader of the state for several centuries; the social, economic, and political leaders came from this region. The rest of the state looked to the Northern Tidewater for leadership; this was the source of resentment between the eastern lowland, plantation and slave-owning Tidewater and the highland, non-slave-owning counties west of the Ridge (Pulley, 1968). This resentment caused the two areas to split politically during the Civil War and to remain political opponents for decades thereafter; however, the split initiated by the War only exemplified a resentment which had been felt for a hundred years previously and was not the precipitating event which caused the split but was a manifestation of a pre-existing situation.

The Northern Tidewater exemplified the tradition and character of what "Virginia" was; the "Virginia gentleman" tradition was very much a part of this region as was the plantation system. This cultural attitude created a political heritage which was more "nation-oriented" and less parochial as compared with a region of a similar demographic character.

The Southern Tidewater was also very much a part of the plantation system as exemplified by the largest number of blacks for any overall region being located there. This region at times also reflects the tradition-oriented patterns of the Northern Tidewater, but at times race becomes an issue of great importance.

The Piedmont region divides into the Northern Piedmont and Southside. The Northern Piedmont frequently is reminiscent of the Virginia tradition. Southside however has the second largest black population in addition to having considerable manufacturing and is as Phillips (1969) called it, the most "Negrophobic" region. The cultural political pattern

is extremely parochial and contrasts sharply with that of the earlier settled Northern Tidewater; Southside was the last region east of the Ridge to leave the presidentially-Democratic voting pattern (1964). Southside retained the presidential-Democratic label longer due to the traditional identification of the Democratic Party as the white supremacy party. Due to strong racial fear, Southside found it more difficult to overcome the historical identification of the Republican Party as the party of blacks it acquired immediately after the Civil War.

The Trans-montane attracted a different type of colonist from the lowlands. The mountains differed in their ethnic background, their agricultural system, and their political tendencies. These factors contributed to an isolation that was philosophical as well as geographical.

The southwestern coal counties have strong Democratic tendencies which are generally thought to relate to the union identification of the miners of this region. The influence of culture, geography, and history can clearly be seen.

This is the main proposal of this research--to demonstrate that while socio-economic characteristics and party identification are important political influencers, these influencers must be evaluated in their historical and cultural milieu. Demographic and political tendencies are culminations or resultants of all which has gone before (history and culture); to consider the result while ignoring the source would be analytically unsound. As pointed out by the aforementioned Professor Ward, political scientists "have to enlarge their scope to take in a greater range of cultural factors." This research through the following regional and subregional political analysis will attempt

just that.

Northern Tidewater: The Northern Neck

The Northern Neck (the counties of King George, Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, and Westmoreland; see map 1-A) is the northern-most peninsula of the Northern Tidewater; it is bounded by the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. The Northern Neck is exclusively rural and demonstrates its plantation heritage by significant black population (which averages between 35 and 40 percent).³

Politically the Northern Neck was predominantly Democratic at the turn of the century and remained so until the 1948 presidential election.⁴ The 1948 presidential election began a presidentially-Republican trend when the Northern Neck supported Dewey over Truman. This trend is still an on-going situation in the Northern Neck due ostensibly to the civil rights platform of the national Democratic Party. The Northern Neck is one of the first examples of Southern Democrats who could not support the liberal civil rights legislation of the national party and thus turned to the conservatism of the Republican Party.

The conservatism of the Northern Neck is further demonstrated by three of the five counties which continued to support the Republican candidate in 1964 when areas of much greater Republican tradition bolted the party for the first time, due to the perceived extremism of the Republican candidate. In spite of the conservatism being exhibited under the Republican trend, this conservatism can still be thought of as being

³All demographic data were collected from the Bureau of Census publication, General Social and Economic Characteristics of Virginia, 1970.

⁴The Northern Neck did go Republican in the 1928 presidential election, as did the majority of Virginia voters.

a conservative Southern Democratic identification due to the Northern Neck's continued support of Southern Democrats on the state and local level. Essentially then, conservatism is the key element in the Northern Neck's political behavior, and in spite of supporting Republican presidential candidates, the political identification can still be thought to be Southern Democratic. The significant Wallace support⁵ (averaging between 25 to 30 percent of the vote)⁶ can be thought to be based not only on this Southern Democratic identification, but also in the conservatism demonstrated in this region. The Wallace vote is related to this Southern Democratic identification as well as the significant percentage of black population and the extremely rural nature of the Northern Neck.

As was mentioned earlier in the introduction, the demographic variables, in many instances will not be shown to be overly significant due to the large, heterogeneous nature of a county or region. The Northern Neck is the first region in which these data show only slight significance. The Northern Neck has approximately ten to twenty percent of its working force engaged as farmers, manufacturing employees and as professionals. The only real significance is the lack of professionals, thus demonstrating a negative relationship between the Wallace support and the number of professionals. The low rates of both education (ninth grade) and income (\$6,000) also relate negatively to the Wallace vote as was expected.

⁵A third-party candidacy becomes important politically when approximately fifteen or twenty percent of the vote is captured. Thus between 25 and 30 percent of the vote on a county level is very significant, especially when the fact that Wallace carried several counties with as little as 34 percent of the vote is considered.

⁶Voting returns were collected from various volumes of Scammon's America Votes and two historical collections of voting returns by Scammon (1965) and Petersen (1963) and from the Marshall-Wythe Institute of the College of William and Mary.

The one exception, both politically and demographically is King George county. King George has significantly higher levels of professionalism (34 percent of the working force), education (11.5 years) and income (\$9,220) and significantly lower percentages of manufacturing employees (9 percent) and farmers (4 percent). King George is still exclusively rural and has a black population of 26 percent, which on the average is less than the rest of the Northern Neck.

These significantly higher levels of professionalism, education, and income are probably related to the fact that King George county is on the outskirts of the Washington standard metropolitan statistical area and is also influenced by the Northeastern urban corridor which in Virginia moves south from Washington through Fredericksburg and Richmond and then southeast through Norfolk and Virginia Beach (this is a continuation of the Boston-Washington urban corridor).

Politically King George county has a stronger Democratic tendency on the presidential level than does the rest of the Northern Neck. In the 1968 presidential election, despite one-third of the working force engaged as professionals, King George gave 29 percent of their vote to George Wallace. In spite of higher socio-economic characteristics (higher rates of education, income, and professionalism) the prevailing influence in King George county appears to be a sizable black population and a strong Democratic tendency; this political tendency is more influential than are socio-economic characteristics. This is the first example where political tendency can be demonstrated; this political tendency is the element which takes into consideration the culture and history of an area and its influence upon political behavior rather than looking exclusively at demographic characteristics. Generally the

stronger the Democratic identification, the stronger is the concern over race (this reflects the historical tradition of the Democratic Party being the white supremacy party). King George has a significant black population and a strong Democratic tradition which is demonstrated by the considerable Wallace support. In this instance, the historical and cultural influence is greater than the socio-economic influencers.

Northern Tidewater: The Eastern Shore

The Eastern Shore consists of two counties (Accomack and Northampton) which are the southern-most portion of the Delmarva Peninsula. The Eastern Shore is bordered by the Maryland portion of the peninsula and the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Because of its separation from the mainland, the Eastern Shore is extremely isolated. It shares many similarities with the Northern Neck but is also dissimilar as are the counties with respect to each other. The plantation system was very much a part of the Eastern Shore's history, but to a lesser extent than the Northern Neck; however, the Eastern Shore had a greater "waterman" tradition than did the Northern Neck which is also a peninsula.

The two counties have significant black populations (37 and 53 percent, respectively) and a very strong Democratic tradition. They did not follow the Northern Neck's early presidential-Republican tendency and did not switch over until the Eisenhower elections. Both counties returned to the Democratic fold in the 1960 presidential election and supported Democratic candidates in the 1965 and 1969 gubernatorial elections and the senatorial election of 1972; these latter two elections show a strong Democratic tendency when compared with the rest of the state which went Republican.

The Democratic tendency in recent years (after 1965) can partially be attributed to the exclusively Democratic black vote becoming a reality. This can further be shown in the 1964 and 1968 presidential elections when Northampton, the county with more than half its population black went Democratic in both those elections; Accomack, the county of lesser black population went Republican in 1964, probably due to the perceived extremism of the Republican candidate, and went AIP in 1968 where further racial conservatism is demonstrated.

In the 1968 presidential election, Wallace received a plurality (35 percent) in Accomack and carried the county; he received 29 percent of the vote in Northampton county, but this county with more than half its population black was carried by the Democrats. Essentially the Eastern Shore is very isolated, conservative, and has a strong Democratic tendency; this Democratic tendency again appears to relate significantly to the AIP support.

The two counties contrast effectively to demonstrate the curvilinear relationship between race and the AIP vote; Accomack with 37 percent of its population black gave the AIP candidate a plurality of 35 percent; Northampton with 53 percent of its population black gave Wallace 29 percent of the vote. The point of decline when comparing the AIP vote with race was predicted to be around the 45 percent point and is validated on the Eastern Shore.

Besides having a political tendency which contributes to the Wallace vote, the Eastern Shore has significant demographic characteristics which contribute to the AIP support. The median educational and income levels are lower than the Northern Neck; the income level is around \$5,000. There are also fewer professionals and significantly more farmers on the

Eastern Shore which would aid in accounting for the higher Wallace support on the Eastern Shore than on the Northern Neck.

The Eastern Shore is an example of the relationship between race, socio-economic characteristics, political identification, and political tendency operating in the predicted directions to influence substantial Wallace support.

Northern Tidewater: The Middle Peninsula

The Middle Peninsula (the counties of Caroline, Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex) is also of the historic plantation culture, as is all of Tidewater and averages the highest black population of any region thus far--40 percent, with the range varying between 22 and 51 percent.

Politically the Middle Peninsula is varied. Prior to the Second World War, the Middle Peninsula was strongly Southern Democratic; after that war, it began to develop an overall Republican tendency. The three counties (Caroline, Essex, and King and Queen) with the highest black populations are the most Democratic tending, as might be expected. Caroline county with the highest black population (51 percent) has gone presidentially-Republican only twice in the twentieth century, in 1956 and 1972. The three counties with the least black population (Mathews, Gloucester, and Middlesex) are the most Republican tending of the region. Mathews, with the lowest black population (22 percent) has gone Republican in every election from and including 1928 to 1972 with the exception of the Roosevelt elections. Here a clear relationship between race and Democratic identification can be seen. These counties (Caroline, Essex, and King and Queen) have been strongly Democratic due to their substantial black populations (after the Civil War areas with high concentrations of

blacks retained the Democratic identification because it was the white supremacy party). When black voting became a reality in 1965, the blacks voted exclusively Democratic⁷ and areas with high concentrations of blacks naturally had high Democratic support which came from nearly all the black voters and some of the white voters; this relationship is particularly delineated in the contrast of the Middle Peninsula counties.

In the Middle Peninsula, the three most Republican tending counties (Mathews, Gloucester, and Middlesex) had the highest percentages for Wallace in 1968; the three most Democratic tending counties had the three lowest percentages for Wallace. This appears to negate the theory that the highest AIP support will be found in Democratic tending areas; however, in the Democratic counties of the Middle Peninsula, the percentages of black population are all past the point where the curvilinear relationship between race and AIP support would peak and then begin to diminish. The peak point for the curvilinear relationship between race and AIP vote was explained earlier to be around the 45 percent point. The three most Democratic tending counties, Caroline, King and Queen, and Essex have black populations of 50.8, 50.7, and 45.0 percent, respectively.

Due to the significantly larger black percentages in these Democratic areas, the curvilinear relationship becomes dominant and thus the AIP vote diminishes due to black majorities and near-majorities. These counties have such strong Democratic ties because of exceptionally high percentages of black population, but because the percentages are so high, the AIP vote is diminished and thus the AIP vote does not relate

⁷Scammon and Wattenberg (1970) found blacks to be voting 97 percent Democratic. These findings were replicated in the all-black precincts of the Richmond area.

positively to the Democratic identification but responds negatively to the percentage of blacks, which is responsible for the Democratic identification.

Mathews, Gloucester, and Middlesex, the three most Republican tending counties, have the lowest percentage of blacks and the highest support for Wallace. Mathews, as was pointed out earlier, has the strongest Republican tendency; Mathews has gone Republican presidentially for the last thirty-five years except the Roosevelt elections. However, as pointed out earlier, the 1928 election was an exception, and Mathews was probably voting anti-Catholic and anti-prohibition rather than pro-Republican. The next elections of 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944, the Roosevelt elections, Mathews went Democratic and began going Republican in 1948, the year of the civil rights controversy in the Democratic Party. Thus, the pro-Republican trend of Mathews and the other two counties could be a retention of the old conservative Southern Democratic identification under a new party label (Republican) and an anti-civil rights, anti-national Democratic Party identification trend rather than a pro-Republican trend. This does appear to be the case due to the fact that the Middle Peninsula overall retains the Southern Democratic identification as exemplified by state and local elections. If this is in fact the case, then the theory which related AIP support to Democratic identification can be validated in these counties with less than "peak" percentages of blacks, because they do retain a Democratic tendency in the state and local elections.

With respect to education, income, professionalism, and manufacturing, the Middle Peninsula is similar to the Northern Neck. Educational and income medians are low and the percentages of professionals are also

low and could be considered to relate negatively to the considerable Wallace support in the Middle Peninsula (ranging from 22 to 35 percent, averaging around 28 percent); the relationships showed about the same level of significance as in the Northern Neck.

The one exception was Caroline county which has approximately one-fourth of its working force in manufacturing. Caroline county also has a black majority. Caroline had approximately 25 percent of her vote for Wallace and 25 percent of her employees in manufacturing. Due to the black majority in Caroline and the diminishment of AIP support as the black population increases, the percentage of AIP support is to be expected.

When the Wallace vote is considered within the Middle Peninsula (intra-regionally) it is among the lowest percentages (again this is due to the black majority) and would appear less significant; however, when this percentage is compared with other regions (inter-regionally) and on its own merits (25 percent of the vote for a third-party candidate is considered quite significant), then this percentage becomes noteworthy.

What this implies is that since half of Caroline's population is black, if half of the electorate were black, since the black vote has been shown to be almost exclusively Democratic, then the AIP support (25 percent) would come from the white electorate. Thus, one out of two white voters would have supported Wallace (this is a hypothetical statement based on the assumption that the racial dichotomy of the electorate is equal to that of the general population, which may or may not be the case).

Northern Tidewater: The Lower Peninsula

The Lower Peninsula (the counties of Charles City, James City, New Kent, York, and the city of Williamsburg) is the most heterogeneous and final subregion of the Northern Tidewater. The Lower Peninsula was also very much a part of the plantation system; the diversity between the concentrations of black population is extreme. Charles City has the greatest black population in the state (74 percent); New Kent's is the next greatest in the region (44 percent). The percentage drops again to 27 percent in James City and then to 15 percent in York.

Politically the Lower Peninsula follows in the strongly Democratic tradition; the region went Republican during the Eisenhower years and in 1960, but returned to the Democratic fold in 1964, probably due to the perceived radicalism of the Republican candidate. In 1968 three of the four counties (the exception was York) supported Humphrey over Nixon. This seeming reversal of a Republican trend (on the presidential level) is probably related to the sudden impact of the black voters in the mid-sixties and during the same period, to a strengthening of the local Democratic Party.

In the 1972 presidential election, Charles City, which is 74 percent black had the unique status of being the only county or city which had a plurality or majority for Democrat McGovern; this Democratic vote is due to the exceptionally high black population in this county, the highest in the state.

With the exception of York county, the curvilinear relationship between race and AIP support was validated. James City has 27 percent of its population black and gave Wallace 20 percent of their vote; New Kent with 44 percent of its population black gave the AIP candidate 32

percent of its vote and Charles City (74 percent black) gave 9 percent of its vote to Wallace (and 74 percent to Humphrey).

The exception in several instances was York county. York was the one county to go Republican in 1968. York gave 37 percent of its vote to Wallace and only has a black population of 15 percent. Besides having the lowest black population in the region, York is also more Republican tending than the other counties; York went Republican in every presidential election from 1952 to 1972 with the exception of 1964. York also has among the highest levels of education, income, and professionalism (30 percent, with James City and Williamsburg having the same percentage). York is also slightly less rural than the other counties which have some urbanization.

York county, being Republican tending, having low levels of blacks, high levels of education, income, and professionalism, and low levels of manufacturing, gave Wallace the highest support he received in the peninsula. This contradicts every hypothesis posited earlier.

The findings in York do relate to a study conducted in Wisconsin (Rogin, 1966) after Wallace ran in the Wisconsin primary in 1964. Rogin (1966) found that the highest Wallace support came from precincts which were the highest educated, most professional, most Republican tending, had the highest incomes, and which were located furthest from the black sections of town. This study contrasts sharply with many other studies; however, in York, the findings appear to be particularly relevant.

With respect to political tendency, York has no history of strongly supporting racially conservative candidates such as Goldwater, Story, or Thurmond; this high AIP support was unprecedented.

With respect to the other counties of the Lower Peninsula, James City has relatively high levels of education, income, and professionalism due to the inclusion of Williamsburg which has a college and a large privately-funded foundation which aid in increasing these medians. Charles City and New Kent with sizable black populations (74 and 44 percent, respectively) have low levels of education, income, and professionalism, but significant numbers of manufacturing employees; New Kent gave a third of its vote to Wallace. The lower levels of socio-economic characteristics in counties with high percentages of black population are statistically caused partially by the high numbers of blacks themselves. Generally these three remaining counties respond as predicted with respect to socio-economic characteristics and the Wallace support.

Southern Tidewater

The Southern Tidewater (the counties of Greenville, Nansemond, Isle of Wight, Prince George, Southampton, Surry, and Sussex, and the cities of Emporia, Franklin, Hopewell, and Suffolk)⁸ demonstrates that it was very much a part of the plantation system by its black population which is the largest in the state. With the exception of Prince George county which has a significantly lower black population (21.7 percent), and the rest of the region averages around 55 percent. Surry and Sussex have the second and third greatest black percentages in the state, both have 65 percent. Because of the high percentages of black population, as would be expected, the Democratic Party has been very strong in the Southern Tidewater; the Southern Tidewater held Democratic during the Eisenhower years and never

⁸The smaller, independent cities have been included with their surrounding counties. It should be noted that prior to the Second World War the cities were Democratic; after the war they became Republican tending.

made the presidentially-Republican transition that Virginia made. In spite of both the Northern and Southern Tidewaters being plantation areas, the crops of the two regions are different and the Southern Tidewater had significantly more manufacturing than did the Northern Tidewater and this affected its political behavior.

When compared to Southside west of the fall line (Southern Tidewater is part of this horizontal, geographical designation which includes the southern counties east of the Ridge) which also has a different agricultural and manufacturing base, but the Southern Tidewater is less politically parochial than Southside but is also less "nation-oriented" than the Northern Tidewater. The political implications for this are that the Southern Tidewater held onto the Democratic Party longer than the Northern Tidewater (presidentially) but not as strongly as did Southside. The implications for the 1968 presidential election are that the Southern Tidewater gave Wallace more support than did the Northern Tidewater, but less than did Southside.

The curvilinear relationship between race and AIP vote is shown clearly by comparing Southside with the Southern Tidewater. Southern Tidewater with the highest proportion of blacks in the state had the second highest support for Wallace; Southside with the second highest number of blacks had the highest Wallace support. Southern Tidewater further demonstrates a political tendency for social conservatism by giving the second highest support of any region to the following socially conservative candidates: Thurmond in 1948, Goldwater in 1964, Story in 1965, and Wallace in 1968.

In spite of this social or racial conservatism demonstrated by past political behavior, in 1971 and 1972, the Southern Tidewater

supported two socially and economically liberal candidates, Howell and Spong. It is interesting to note that incumbent, moderately-liberal, Democratic Senator Spong was soundly defeated by his conservative Republican opponent, Scott, in the state overall in 1972. The impact of the liberal black vote in these counties of black majorities has become the powerful influence it was feared to be in Southern Tidewater. The black vote gives every indication of completely changing the political pattern of Southern Tidewater. Although Southern Tidewater had supported Democratic candidates in the past, they probably would have eventually made the presidentially-Republican transition due to the liberalism of the national party. With black voters in the majority, the political trend will be towards the national Democratic Party rather than the conservatism of the Republican Party.

This social and racial conservatism exhibited in Southern Tidewater prior to black voting becoming a reality is further indicated by the socio-economic character of this region.⁹ Southern Tidewater has low levels of median education and income (less than ninth grade and \$7,000) and professionalism and high percentages of manufacturing employees; Southern Tidewater also has significant percentages of farmers and a high degree of rurality. All of these characteristics have been mentioned earlier as indicative of social conservatism.

The exception in this region is Prince George county. As pointed out earlier, Prince George county has a significantly lower black population (21.7 percent) and a greater Republican tendency than the rest of Southern Tidewater. Prince George is a county which is only a

⁹With the exception of Prince George county.

borderline member of Southern Tidewater; in many instances it could be included with the metropolitan area of Richmond because it is as much a "bedroom community" as Arlington, Fairfax, Chesterfield, or Henrico and exhibits many similar characteristics.

This Republican tendency is indicated by Prince George being the only county in Southern Tidewater to go Republican in 1956; Goldwater carried the county in 1964. This was probably aided by Goldwater's perceived racial conservatism because Thurmond and Story also received significant support in this county; in 1968, Wallace carried the county with 40 percent of the vote. Prince George also differs significantly from the rest of Southern Tidewater because of its high levels of education, income, and professionalism. However, the prevailing concern in Prince George county appears to first be part of a regional concern over race that Prince George shares with the Southern Tidewater. Prince George, as somewhat of a "bedroom county" to Richmond, experiences the community concern of that city over racial issues. The Wallace vote was not diminished by the higher concentrations of black voters as it was in other counties of the Southern Tidewater; Prince George has exhibited as much social conservatism as did the rest of Southern Tidewater in the past.

The second influence of the high Wallace support is the fact that nearly one-third of the working force in Prince George works in manufacturing. Essentially then a conservative political attitude is demonstrated by a turning to the Republican Party before the rest of Southern Tidewater; this Republicanism was allowed to flourish because of a lesser black population. This attitude in a region of overall racial conservatism, in conjunction with high percentages of manufacturing employees

account for the significant Wallace support, despite the Republican tendency and the higher SES nature.

The Piedmont

The Piedmont section of Virginia originally attracted industry because of their proximity to markets, transportation centers, water power, and raw materials. The area is among the major producers of textiles, cigarettes, furniture, wood products, and chemicals in the state. These are light rather than heavy industries, and their growth has produced a fairly large local class of skilled workers, technicians and white collar managers. Richmond is the administrative, banking, commercial and insurance center of the state (Phillips, 1969).

Piedmont's Southside can further be divided into three subregions, Deep Southside, Far Southside, and Border Southside.

Piedmont: Deep Southside

As mentioned in the discussion of Southern Tidewater, Deep Southside (the counties of Brunswick, Campbell, Charlotte, Halifax, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pittsylvania, and the cities of Danville, Lynchburg, and South Boston) has the second greatest proportion of blacks in the state, averaging around 40 percent. Prior to the impact of black voting, Deep Southside had the strongest Democratic tendency of any region east of the Ridge. Phillips (1969) described Deep Southside as the most "Negrophobic" region in Virginia. This can be seen by the strong support for Thurmond, Goldwater, Story, Wallace, and Scott, all of which were perceived to be racially conservative candidates. Thurmond received his highest support in the state in Deep Southside; Halifax county had the distinction of being the only county in the state with a plurality

for the States' Rights candidate. The 1964 presidential election found Deep Southside going presidentially-Republican for the first time in a hundred years. Deep Southside even held Democratic in 1928 and during the Eisenhower years. The gubernatorial election of 1965 found two counties with pluralities for the conservative candidate Story (Lunenburg and Mecklenburg). In 1968 Wallace carried every county in Deep Southside except Campbell county. In 1972, all the counties supported the racially conservative Republican Scott.

Deep Southside is an excellent example of the conservative Southern Democratic region unable to support the liberal race policies of the national Democratic candidates and turned to the conservatism of the Republican Party. This is not a party identification change because Deep Southside is still strongly Democratic on the state and local level.

Deep Southside's tendency to support racially conservative candidates is further explained by its socio-economic character--Deep Southside has low levels of education, income, professionalism, and high degrees of rurality, farmers, and very high percentages of manufacturing employees (between one-third and one-half of the working force). Deep Southside is the "heart of Wallace country" in Virginia in every respect.

The one deviant county is Campbell county and the city of Lynchburg. This county has a significantly lower proportion of blacks (16 percent in the county and 23 percent in the city; 20 percent overall) and has a stronger Republican tradition on the presidential level (especially Lynchburg) although it remains strongly Democratic on the state and local level. This county also has significantly higher levels of education, income, and professionalism; this is probably enhanced by two colleges being located there.

In spite of having a higher socio-economic character and a lower percentage of blacks, Campbell gave Wallace 35 percent of its vote (Lynchburg gave only 30 percent; overall when the county and city were computed together, the total was 26 percent). The trend toward supporting racially conservative candidates is not particularly strong in this county; to what can this strong AIP support be attributed?

One factor which is influential is the percentage of manufacturing workers; in spite of Campbell's higher socio-economic characteristics, the percentage of manufacturing workers is still comparable to Deep Southside. Another factor is the Democratic identification of Campbell regardless of its post-World War II presidentially-Republican trend. Campbell has far fewer blacks than the rest of Deep Southside, but Campbell still identifies with Deep Southside from a cultural and historical perspective as well as political. Another consideration is that intra-regionally this support may not be overly significant when compared with the rest of Deep Southside, but when compared inter-regionally, 26 percent overall AIP support for an area which has only 20 percent of the population black is significant (not to mention the 35 percent of the vote in Campbell county alone with only 16 percent of the population black). Campbell is still a part of "Wallace country."

In Deep Southside, there is a historical, cultural, political, and demographic basis for the extreme Wallace support. There is a historic "Negrophobic" political pattern which developed after the Civil War and which has perpetuated itself through the culture of this region. Key said in 1949 that race was the most influential factor in Southern politics; Deep Southside is a case in point.

The Piedmont: Far Southside

The counties of Far Southside (Franklin, Henry, and Patrick and the city of Martinsville) are three counties immediately east of the Ridge and are the western-most part of Southside. This region shares many similarities with Deep Southside but is dissimilar in other respects.

The percentage of black population in Far Southside is significantly lower than Deep Southside with 8, 14, and 24 percent for Patrick, Franklin, and Henry, respectively. Patrick, immediately adjacent to the mountains, and with the lowest black population (8 percent) has a relatively strong Republican trend which dates back to the 1920's. Franklin and Henry with 14 and 24 percent black populations are strongly Democratic and went Republican for the first time in 1972. Patrick retained its Republican trend in 1968 when Franklin and Henry both went AIP. Interestingly enough, all three counties, with different proportions of blacks and differing political trends, all gave Wallace 38 percent of the vote; this allowed Wallace to carry Franklin and Henry but lost Patrick to the Republicans.

Far Southside has low educational, income, and professional medians as does Deep Southside; however, the number of manufacturing workers in Far Southside is significantly higher, averaging around 55 percent. This in conjunction with a Democratic identification, some black population and being a part of a region which views race as a very salient issue are the factors which influenced this significant AIP support. In addition to this, Wallace's economic liberalism in addition to his social conservatism were probably as attractive to these predominantly working-class voters, as they were in Deep Southside.

The Piedmont: Border Southside

Border Southside is the final subregion of Southside (the counties of Amelia, Amherst, Appomattox, Bedford, Buckingham, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Nelson, Nottoway, Powhatan, and Prince Edward with the city of Petersburg). This region can further be divided into east and west.

The eastern counties of Border Southside (Cumberland, Powhatan, Amelia, Prince Edward and Nottoway) are similar to Deep Southside in that they have proportions of blacks ranging around 40 percent. The western counties (Nelson, Amherst, Bedford, Buckingham, and Appomattox) have half that proportion of blacks. There is no particular overt political relationship between race and the strength of the Democratic voting pattern, i.e., the counties with significantly more blacks are no more likely to vote Democratic than are the counties with half the number of blacks. The trend is strongly but not exclusively Democratic.

Border Southside is very similar to Deep and Far Southside with respect to education, income, and professionalism (being low) and the number of manufacturing employees (being high, between one-third and one-half). The support for Wallace was more uniform in this subregion than in any other; i.e., every county gave Wallace approximately one-third of their vote regardless of the proportion of blacks or the strength of the Democratic trend. This region was where Story received his greatest support in 1965 when he carried four counties. With the Wallace support in the mid-thirties in every county, the AIP candidate carried Dinwiddie and Nottoway in the eastern portion and Nelson and Buckingham in the western portion.

The significant Wallace support can be attributed to the significant percentage of blacks in the area (ranging between 20 and 40 percent), the

overall Democratic tendency, the low levels of education, income, and professionalism, the high numbers of manufacturing employees, and the prevailing historical and cultural importance given to race by this region and its surrounding regions. All of these variables interworking produce this political behavior.

The Northern Piedmont

The Northern Piedmont is distinctly different from the Southern Piedmont (Southside). The proportion of black population diminishes as the distance northward increases into the Piedmont; the Democratic tendency decreases as do the black percentages. Being a very large and diverse region, the Northern Piedmont can further be subdivided into three subregions, the East Central Piedmont, the Northwest Piedmont, and the "Mountain Piedmont."

The Northern Piedmont: East Central Piedmont

The East Central Piedmont (the counties of Fluvanna, Goochland, Hanover, Louisa, Spottsylvania, and Stafford and the city of Fredericksburg) vary in racial composition from 9 percent black in Stafford (the most Republican tending county in the region) to 44 percent in Goochland (the most Democratic tending county in the region). With the exception of Stafford, the East Central Piedmont has significant percentages of black population, the highest in the Northern Piedmont.

With the exception of Spottsylvania and Stafford, the levels of education, income, and professionalism are low as they are in the rest of Piedmont (Southside). With the same exceptions, this is also a region with high numbers of manufacturing employees. Again the influence of a Democratic tendency, significant black populations, and a generally

lower SES character upon the Wallace vote is shown--this region averaged between 25 and 35 percent of its vote for the AIP candidate. Again this is a result of the historical, political, cultural, and demographic character of the region.

The two exceptions to this were Stafford and Spottsylvania. Stafford had significantly higher levels of education, income, and professionalism, low manufacturing, a low black population and is the most Republican tending of all the counties of this region. The reason why Stafford has significantly higher demographic characteristics is that it is rapidly becoming somewhat of a suburb of Washington. However, Stafford is still exclusively rural and gave 34 percent of its vote to Wallace. Despite Stafford's significantly lower black population, Republican tendency, and higher SES, Stafford gave a third of its vote to Wallace. The only explanation offered is that again, Stafford is still part of an overall region which has a historical and cultural interest and fear in racial issues; the economic liberalism of the AIP candidate may not have had as great an appeal in Stafford as it did in the other East Central Piedmont counties because the number of manufacturing workers in Stafford is small.

Besides the historical impact of race on regional politics, there was a very real emphasis placed on race in the 1960's. Again as mentioned before, that decade was marked with increased crime, violence, and civil rights legislation; the election was only six months after many parts of the nation had been the scene of violent race riots. So race was definitely a current issue in 1968; this appears to be the prevailing political influence.

The other exception was Spottsylvania county and the city of Fredericksburg. Fredericksburg is a small city (15,000) and has a higher SES than the rest of the region due to a college being located there in addition to its urban nature; both of these factors aid in accounting for the higher rates of education, income, and professionalism. Fredericksburg with 18 percent of its population black gave Wallace only 17 percent of its vote; Spottsylvania with 22 percent of the population black followed the pattern of the other East Central Piedmont counties and gave Wallace 32 percent of the vote. Despite Spottsylvania having a higher SES (even when Fredericksburg is not considered) than the rest of the East Central Piedmont, it does have one-fourth of its working force in manufacturing, it does have a significant black population, it does have a strong Democratic tendency, it is rural, and it is a part of a region which has had a cultural and historical concern over race which has affected its political behavior (this can further be demonstrated by a significant support for Thurmond and Goldwater). Fredericksburg reflects its even higher SES by its relatively lower AIP support. The variation in Fredericksburg is probably attributable not only to its higher SES but also to the fact that it is a city instead of a rural county and also to the fact that there is a lower black population.

The Northern Piedmont: The Northwest Piedmont

The Northwest Piedmont (the counties of Albemarle, Culpeper, Fauquier, Greene, Loudoun, Madison, and Orange and the city of Charlottesville) is the northern-most portion of the Piedmont. As mentioned earlier, this region has fewer blacks than the more southern portions of the Piedmont; the number of blacks decreases from south to north in the Piedmont. The Democratic tendency also decreases with the

proportion of blacks. The range of black proportions in the Northwest Piedmont ranges between 11 and 24 percent; the AIP support ranged between 20 and 30 percent.

In addition to being less Democratic tending on the presidential level, the Northwest Piedmont is also less so on the state level. For example, Greene county has voted Republican in every presidential election from 1920 to 1972 with the exception of the first three Roosevelt elections. Greene county does have the strongest Republican tendency in the region as well as the lowest black population; in many ways this county could be categorized with its adjacent mountain counties.

Three of the counties (Orange, Madison, and Greene) have lower SES characteristics (low medians of education, income, and levels of professionals) and high numbers of farmers and manufacturing workers. The response in these three counties to Wallace was among the highest in the region. (Culpeper shares all of the same characteristics except the high numbers of manufacturing employees.)

The other three counties, Albemarle, Loudoun, and to a lesser extent Fauquier, share higher SES characteristics. Albemarle (in which Charlottesville is included) has a university and government bureau located there which account for its higher levels of education, income, and professionalism. Loudoun, as of 1970, is considered part of the standard metropolitan statistical area of Washington, thus in spite of its rural nature, it has higher rates of education, income, and professionalism, as does Albemarle. This is true of Fauquier but to a lesser extent. These three counties had the three lowest percentages for Wallace; Albemarle and Loudoun have among the lowest percentages of blacks. In spite of this, however, their support was still 20 percent which is

significant. These counties of higher SES responded less than the counties with lower SES, but the response is still significant. Again this appears to be a response to the historical and cultural influenced political behavior of the region with which these counties identify.

The Piedmont: "Mountain Piedmont"

There are four counties (Clarke, Frederick, Rappahannock, and Warren, and the city of Winchester) in this region. Despite the apparent misnomer of the region, "Mountain Piedmont" is more indicative of these four counties than the usual designation based solely on geography which would be Trans-montane. Three of these counties (Clarke, Frederick, and Warren) are west of the Blue Ridge mountain range; however, if history, culture, and political tendency are considered, these counties belong to the Northwest Piedmont.

In the discussion of the settlement and migratory patterns of the Trans-montane, it was mentioned that there were two separate settlement groups, one which moved southwest from the mountains of Pennsylvania and West Virginia and the other westward across the mountains from the Northwest Piedmont. The political pattern of the "Mountain Piedmont" would indicate that the culture of the settlers from Northwest Piedmont had predominated. For example, the tendency of the "Mountain Piedmont" is strongly Democratic; the tradition of the Trans-montane is noted for its indigenous Republican tradition. Because of the strong Democratic tradition of the "Mountain Piedmont," a tradition which is stronger than that of the Northwest Piedmont, these Mountain "Piedmont" counties show a stronger similarity to the Piedmont than to the Trans-montane.

In spite of the black population being lower in the "Mountain Piedmont" (between 4 to 17 percent) than in the Northwest Piedmont, the Democratic tendency is stronger. The demographic character of the "Mountain Piedmont" is very similar to the Northwest Piedmont with low levels of education, income, and professionalism, and high levels of farmers and manufacturing; the "Mountain Piedmont" gave Wallace greater support than did the Northwest Piedmont. This support is probably attributed to the stronger Democratic tradition of the "Mountain Piedmont" in spite of its lower percentage of blacks.

Considering the lower percentages of black population, the strong Democratic tendency could be related to the overall regional spirit concerning race as well as the strong Democratic identification which in itself is racially based.

Thus, in this region, the lower SES character, a strong Democratic tradition, and a historical, cultural, and political concern over race contributed to the significant Wallace support (which averaged around 27 percent).

The Trans-montane

This region of Virginia is west of the Blue Ridge mountain range and is the heartland of Virginia's indigenous Republican population. This is the region which has been contributing 30 percent of Virginia's vote to national Republican candidates for as long as the Republican Party has existed. On the local level, this region has been represented by Republicans in state and local assemblies for a hundred years.

As was mentioned in the introduction, this Republicanism developed out of animosity which existed between the eastern and western portions of the state dating from Colonial times. The resentment reached

a peak prior to the Civil War; the mountaineers adopted the newly-formed Republican Party as the anti-slavery and anti-secession party during that time (1860) and retained it. The height of Republicanism is at a peak in the Northern Valley and gradually decreases southward into the Valley and then reaches another peak around Roanoke and then declines in the southwestern coal counties which are heavily Democratic.

The Trans-montane: The Northern Valley

The height of Republican strength in the mountain region and the state are the three counties of the Northern Valley (Page, Rockingham, and Shenandoah and the city of Harrisonburg). Rockingham county for example has gone Republican in every presidential election since 1920 with the exception of two Roosevelt elections (1932 and 1940) and the 1964 election, due probably to the perceived extremism of Goldwater.

The black population in this region is negligible, around 2 percent; the Wallace support averaged around 15 percent. Despite strong Republican ties and low black populations which would appear to counteract support for Wallace, this region, with the exception of Rockingham county, has low educational and income medians, low rates of professionalism, and high numbers of farmers and manufacturing workers; this is where the Wallace vote is probably based.

Rockingham differs only in that it has colleges located in Harrisonburg and has slightly higher levels of education, income, and professionals; however, its rates with respect to the other variables are similar to the other two counties, as was the response to Wallace.

The Trans-montane: The Central Valley

The counties in the upper portion of the Central Valley (Augusta,

Bath, Highland, and Rockbridge, and the cities of Buena Vista, Lexington, Staunton, and Waynesboro) have slightly more blacks, a slightly stronger Democratic tendency and more Wallace support than the Northern Valley.

The higher AIP support of this area can be attributed to the low educational and income medians, the high number of manufacturing workers in addition to the higher percentage of blacks and the great Democratic tradition. The cities tend to have higher numbers of professionals and a slightly lower AIP vote.

The other counties of the Central Valley (Alleghany, Botetourt, and Craig, and the cities of Clifton Forge and Covington) are similar to those of the upper portion of the Central Valley with one exception--these counties have slightly more blacks, slightly more AIP support and a very strong Democratic tendency. Craig county, for example, went Republican for the first time in the twentieth century in 1968. The demographic characteristics respond as they did in the upper part of the region and are further influenced by the stronger Democratic ties and larger black population.

The Trans-Montane: Southwest Valley

Republicanism reaches its second state-wide peak in the Southwest Valley (Blind, Carroll, Floyd, Giles, Grayson, Montgomery, Pulaski, Scott, Smyth, Roanoke, Washington, and Wythe and the cities of Radford, Roanoke, and Salem). Three counties within this region (Floyd, Carroll, and Grayson) have the strongest Republican tendency in the state. Floyd county for example has never voted presidentially Democratic (in the twentieth century); Floyd was the only county in the state not to go

for Democrat Roosevelt in 1932. Floyd even held Republican in 1964 when several mountain counties voted Democratic for the first time in 30 years, and is Republican on the state and local level also. Carroll county is similar to Floyd with the exception of going Democratic in the first Roosevelt election; Grayson is similar to Carroll with one additional Democratic election, 1964.

Black populations are low in these counties (less than 4 percent); the AIP support averaged around 15 percent. Despite the low proportion of blacks and no Democratic tendency, these counties have very low educational and income medians and numbers of professionals and are very high in manufacturing--better than half the working force in some instances and thus accounts for the AIP vote.

The remaining nine counties (Bland, Giles, Montgomery, Pulaski, Roanoke, Scott, Smyth, Washington, and Wythe) are also strongly Republican--the exception is Bland, Giles, and to a lesser extent, Washington. For some inexplicable reason, Bland and Giles, and to a lesser extent, Washington have very strong Democratic tendencies. These counties are in the midst of very Republican counties, and do not differ with respect to racial composition or socio-economic characteristics. Giles which has the strongest Democratic tendency of the three also had the greatest Wallace support in the region, but it is not significantly higher.

Wallace's support ranged from 12 to 24 percent and again appears to be based in the lower SES character of this region (with the exception of Roanoke and Montgomery). This region is similar to the rest of the Valley with very low educational and income medians and very high percentages of manufacturing employees.

Roanoke and Montgomery have higher levels of education, income, and professionalism; Roanoke is the largest city west of the Ridge. The county of Roanoke includes the cities of Roanoke and Salem, both of which have colleges and the town of Blacksburg which has a large university. The county of Montgomery has a college located in Radford. Despite these higher levels of SES, it does not appear to appreciably diminish the Wallace support. This appears to relate to the still high percentage of manufacturing.

The Trans-montane: The Coal Counties

The coal-mining counties (Buchanan, Dickenson, Lee, Russell, Tazewell, and Wise, and the cities of Bristol, Galax, and Norton) have the strongest Democratic tendency of any region west of the Ridge. This Democratic identification relates to the union identification (mining) of the region. There are almost no blacks in this area and the Wallace support was insignificant and the lowest of any region. The coal counties have the lowest educational and income medians of any region in the state. The number of professionals is very low and the percentage of operatives (mining) is among the highest. Considering the extraordinarily low SES of this region and its strong Democratic identification, the economic liberalism of Wallace would be thought to be politically appealing to this region. The coal counties also rejected the economic liberalism of Henry Howell in 1971 in favor of a Democrat. However, in both of these elections, the candidates were running as third-party candidates; the Democratic identification is very strong in this area.

Two counties within this region deviate from this pattern. Lee county with the lowest educational level in the state (7.6 years) and the lowest income level (\$3,901) has considerable agriculture and the

strongest Republican tendency of the region. Russell county also has considerable agriculture. Dickenson county is the second-most Republican tending county in the region. Despite these deviations, the AIP support is the same as in the Democratic tending counties--low. Again the most pervasive influence in this overall region is the traditional two-party identification. Even Harry Byrd did not carry this region when he swept the rest of the state as an Independent in 1970. Henry Howell did not carry one county during his race for lieutenant-governor in 1971 as an Independent. A third-party candidate has never carried a county of this region, at least since 1920. The most pervasive political influence in this region appears to be party identification. Interestingly enough, in the 1973 gubernatorial election, the Democratic coal counties supported Howell who ran as an Independent; there was no Democratic candidate. Thus the support was given to the candidate who was economically liberal which would appeal to this area.

Metropolitan Urban Areas: Northern Virginia

Northern Virginia consists of the counties of Arlington, Fairfax, and Prince William and the cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, and Falls Church. Northern Virginia is usually considered a suburb of Washington rather than a part of Virginia. As a suburb, Northern Virginia tends to be Republican, but it is not the conservative Southern Democrat turned Republican or the indigenous mountain-Republican, but instead is the upper middle-class, professional, suburbanite Republican. The city of Alexandria tends to be more Democratic than the rest of the region due probably to the fact that it is the only area within this region with any appreciable black population and because it has a long-standing city identification, which would influence it to be Democratic.

With the exception of Alexandria, Northern Virginia has a very small percentage of blacks. Overall the support for Wallace was also small. Northern Virginia has high medians of education (higher than a high school graduate), income (\$11,000 to \$16,000), and professionals (27 to 50 percent). All of these characteristics, being Republican tending, having low levels of blacks, having high levels of education, income, professionalism, and low levels of manufacturing would correspond to the low Wallace support.

The one deviant area is Prince William county. Prince William has no more blacks than the rest of the region, but its AIP support was nearly double that of the rest of the region. The answer to this appears to be related to the fact that Prince William is significantly more rural than the rest of Northern Virginia which is highly urbanized, and its rates of education, income, and professionalism are the lowest of the region and it has more manufacturing workers than the rest of the region.

Metropolitan Urban Areas: Richmond

The Richmond metropolitan area consists of the city of Richmond and its contiguous counties of Chesterfield and Henrico. Richmond is the administrative, commercial, cultural, educational, historical, and manufacturing center of Virginia; this area is steeped in the Old Virginia tradition more so than any of the other urban areas.

The city of Richmond is about half black and thus follows a fairly strong Democratic pattern; the contiguous counties follow the suburban pattern and are strongly Republican nationally. Chesterfield has 11 percent of its population black; Henrico has 7 percent. This Republican trend of the counties is more similar to the recent trend of the state--

turning to the conservatism of the Republican Party but still retaining Southern Democratic identification. This is also reflected by the Wallace vote in this area. The city of Richmond gave Wallace 11 percent of the vote; Chesterfield gave 29 percent and Henrico, 22 percent.

Chesterfield and Henrico both have high medians of education and income. The city of Richmond's educational level is lower as is its income level. Richmond's socio-economic characteristics are lower due probably to the larger black population; this has been demonstrated in counties with significant black populations. The lower rates are partially statistically attributable to the black population themselves. The counties have high levels of professionals (between one-fourth and one-third) but also have high levels of manufacturing (between one-fifth and one-fourth). The underlying Democratic identification and high levels of manufacturing are probably two of the influencers of the high Wallace support (in proportion to the number of blacks). There is another factor which is influential. The counties of Chesterfield and Henrico identify with Richmond in many ways; the overwhelming majority of workers in the urbanized sections of the counties work in the city.

The city of Richmond is an area which has experienced an unprecedented growth of black population in the past decade, and as demonstrated in the past five or ten years, black voting has become a political force of real importance. Race riots hit Richmond in the late sixties and the seventies brought busing. Race is a real concern to the community and this is reflected in its political behavior. This prevailing community concern over race, in addition to the underlying Democratic tendency, and the high percentage of manufacturing employees are the variables which most affect this high Wallace vote.

Metropolitan Urban Areas: Hampton Roads

The Hampton Roads (the cities of Chesapeake, Hampton, Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Virginia Beach) area is the urbanized section of the Southern Tidewater. The Southern Tidewater was the region with the highest black percentages in the state and with strong Democratic tendencies. Hampton Roads is only around 25 percent black on the average, but following the pattern of its region and the urban setting, is strongly Democratic--this is probably enhanced by some high black percentages in some areas.

The exception to this is Virginia Beach which has only 9 percent of its population black and is strongly Republican tending in the tradition of the upper-middle class, professional, suburbanite.

Chesapeake and Portsmouth have 23 and 40 percent black populations, respectively and gave Wallace 45 and 32 percent of their vote, respectively. Both of these cities are strongly Democratic, they also have low levels of education and income in comparison with the other cities of the region, and high levels of manufacturing; these appear to be the influencing factors. Chesapeake had the unique status of being the only city in Virginia to go AIP in 1968.

Newport News, Norfolk, and Hampton have between 25 and 30 percent of their population black; these cities averaged 28 percent of their vote for Wallace and are strongly Democratic. The percentages of education, income, professionalism, and manufacturing are not significantly low or high to suspect them as overwhelming influencers. The influencer here and as will more sharply be seen in Virginia Beach is again the community concern over race; these cities are at least one-fourth black. The same sort of concern as was exhibited in the Richmond area

is evident.

The best example of this phenomenon is the city of Virginia Beach. As was mentioned earlier, Virginia Beach is the one city of Hampton Roads which exhibits strong Republican tendencies. Virginia Beach has high medians of education and income, the highest in the region. It also has very high percentages of professionals, and low percentages of manufacturing workers. It also has the lowest black percentage of the region (9 percent) but high AIP support--nearly 30 percent. Virginia Beach is a "bedroom community" as are Arlington, Fairfax, Henrico, and Chesterfield. As did the Richmond suburban counties, Virginia Beach is influenced by this community concern over racial issues. As pointed out earlier, 1968 was the end of a five year period of intense concern over the emotion-laden issue of race, which is still an on-going phenomenon, and this concern was an influential and pervasive political factor. This community concern is to the urban regions what historical and cultural tendencies are to the county.

Conclusions

Probably the most important aspect of this research is the attempt to demonstrate political behavior as being influenced by its historical and cultural milieu as well as by other more frequently cited variables. Too much political research has been done which views the single political act (voting) as a resultant of demographic (deterministic) variables; much of this past research has failed to demonstrate the profound and pervasive effect of geography, history, and culture upon these "demographic" characteristics which are so influential of political behavior. An example of this is the acceptance of traditional regional political identifications without considering

when and why they became traditional and the reciprocal influence these traditional identifications and demographic characteristics have on one another.

For example, the "black-belt" Southside was and is (except for recent presidential elections) the strongest Democratic region in Virginia; Southside voted almost exclusively Democratic until 1964 when a racially conservative Republican (Goldwater) ran; in 1968 Southside overwhelmingly supported Wallace. Looking into the historical development of the Democratic Party in Southside, it is of course necessary to recall that in Southside, the plantation type of land economy was made possible by the fertile soil; black slaves were imported in large quantities as a form of inexpensive labor. Immediately after the Civil War, Confederate veterans were unable to vote; thus, the majority of white voters were temporarily disenfranchised. Virginia politics were temporarily dominated by newly-freed and newly-enfranchised slaves who adopted the party of their emancipators, namely the Republican Party. This Republican identification among blacks continued until the 1930's with Roosevelt when black voters voted Democratic and have continued to do so ever since (Pulley, 1968; Phillips, 1969).

After Virginia was readmitted to the Union and veterans were again able to vote, the Conservative (later the Democratic) Party began to regain its pre-War strength (Pulley, 1968). The Democratic Party in Virginia before the War had been the party of the lowland plantation owner, the pro-slavery and pro-secession party. In a region with approximately half the population black, it was imperative to the white voters to regain and maintain political supremacy, thus the Democratic Party became the white supremacy party. This fear of black political

power, or "Negrophobia" as Phillips (1969) called it, became an integral part of Southside's political beliefs and behavior; this fear existed in varying degrees in most of the counties east of the Ridge, but this Negrophobia was at its height in Southside. Southside is illustrative of Key's (1949) remark that race was the key factor in Southern political behavior. This is one of the factors (race) which caused the Democratic Party to become so firmly entrenched in Virginia, the South, and especially Southside.

This "Negrophobia" is further influenced by the demographic nature of Southside. Southside is rural; the towns of any consequence are manufacturing-factory towns; much of the working force works in factories. The population is poor and the region has a generally lower-SES character. Right-to-work laws have diminished the influence of unions to obtain the higher wages and benefits that they have elsewhere. Thus the Negrophobia is perpetuated by the socio-economic nature of the region and is further demonstrated overly by the political behavior of this region.

Southside contrasts with a region such as the Northern Tidewater. There are some counties with as large a proportion of blacks as in parts of Southside. However, the Wallace support was not as extreme in the Northern Tidewater as it was in Southside. The Democratic Party was not as firmly entrenched in the Northern Tidewater due to the greater "nation-oriented" ambiance of the Northern Tidewater which developed from this region's historical position as Virginia's historical, social, and cultural leader. It is true that there is considerably less manufacturing in the Northern Tidewater, but the Northern Tidewater has repeatedly resisted racially conservative candidates, such as Thurmond

and Story (both running on socially and economically conservative platforms) received low support in the Northern Tidewater. There is no overwhelming demographic basis for the differences between these two areas; the real difference is in the development of the history and culture of the two regions. Southside was one of the last non-mountain areas to be settled and thus failed to develop the same orientation as the Northern Tidewater. This "nation-oriented" ambiance of the Northern Tidewater developed out of its historical position, became a part of the culture, and has perpetuated itself politically.

Then there is the indigenous Republicanism of the mountaineers. This Republicanism developed from the small, individual, non-slave land-economy of the mountains. The mountain land was not such that would allow the full-flowering of the plantation system, thus there were few slaves, and no entrenched, traditional Southern Democratic Party. Instead, an anti-slavery, anti-lowland, anti-secession, and anti-eastern attitude developed as Republicanism which offered a sharp contrast in Virginia politics. These various geographical, historical, and cultural differences can be seen, and their affect upon Virginia political development.

The cultural and political heritage of a region becomes imperative in attempting to explain political variations which appear to have no demographic base for differentiation. This is the real crux of this research--to show the importance of viewing political behavior in its entirety, not viewing isolated variables, but to look at these elements in their historical and cultural milieu, for these elements may very well be the most important considerations of political analysis.

The demographic variables referred to are the socio-economic variables; these as reflections of the history and culture which have gone before and the nature of the county and region which currently exist are invaluable in analyzing political behavior.

Generally there was a curvilinear relationship between race and the Wallace support. For the most part, the AIP support did increase with the percentage of blacks until a peak of around 45 percent was reached and then began to diminish at the point where a black majority was reached. This relationship was shown more clearly east of the Ridge due to the fact that there are very few blacks west of the Ridge.

The number of professionals generally related negatively to the AIP vote as was anticipated. There were exceptions in some counties. Prince George county had strong AIP support in spite of having high degrees of professionalism, but Prince George also has a large manufacturing force. The same phenomenon was found in Chesterfield and Henrico counties. All three of these counties had elements of another phenomenon which is well illustrated by Virginia Beach.

Virginia Beach has high rates of professionalism and very low rates of manufacturing (and high AIP support). Virginia Beach acts as a "bedroom community" to a large, urban center (Norfolk) which has a long-standing concern over race. Virginia Beach, as the residential community for many who work in the city reflects the concern of that urban center. The same sort of phenomenon is also found in Prince George, Chesterfield, and Henrico.

However, in spite of some exceptions, the degree of professionalism was useful in many instances to explain a lower AIP vote; the Northern Virginia area is an example where the relationship is strongly negative.

The other dichotomous variable (manufacturing employment) of the occupational category was a far stronger and more consistent predictor.

The demographic characteristic which showed the strongest relationship was that of the manufacturing occupation. This variable related strongly and consistently positive to the support received by Wallace. This would appear to substantiate the findings that lower-SES voters are attracted to candidates who are economically liberal and socially conservative.

Education and income related negatively to the AIP vote as was expected, but again not in the counties which identified with a large urban community which had an acute concern over race. Just as a regional or community attitude could have the most pervasive influence with the variable of professionalism, the same phenomenon is found within the other two variables which make up SES. All three of these variables, professionalism, education, and income, for the most part did relate negatively to the AIP support, but there were instances such as those just cited, where political behavior was indeed influenced by a pervasive and traditional attitude toward issues and politics. In these instances, a regional or community spirit were the most profound political influencers.

The Northern Virginia area is again an example of this negative relationship in the extreme form of high education, income, professionalism and low Wallace support. Again this area is not subject to a strong identification with Virginia, but is an entity unto itself. (It is also noted that this area has few blacks, and a moderately strong Republican tendency.)

The southwestern coal counties are examples of this phenomenon in its opposite extreme form. This region had the lowest levels of education and income in the state and among the lowest Wallace support. Again this region does not have a historical and cultural concern over race, but it has a strong Democratic identification based on its mining industry; this identification is so strong that not even Wallace's economic liberalism had an appeal. The same phenomenon was repeated in 1971 when Howell ran on an economically liberal but Independent ticket. This region overwhelmingly supported Howell in 1973 when he again ran on an economically liberal Independent ticket; the difference in this election was that the Democrats did not have a gubernatorial candidate running.

The past Democratic political tendency (the type that was related to the Southern Democratic tradition) related strongly positive to the Wallace support as was suspected. This would of course stand to reason since the Democratic Party originally became entrenched due to its concern over race and thus these regions would be more inclined to support a racially conservative candidate. Here again, the overall political ambiance prevails over the demographic character.

The degree of rurality and the number of farmers (or the degree of agriculture) showed the least significant relationship. Virginia substantially is a very rural state with the exception of four highly urbanized areas which were compared separately for this very reason (three of the area were compared). Essentially the degree of rurality among the remaining counties (the non-metropolitan ones) were so similar that it could not be considered to be particularly related to the differences in the AIP vote. This was also true of the percentage of farmers. With the exception of a very few counties, the percentage of

farmers showed no particular significance.

The variable which showed the strongest relationship, when measured by county and regional units, was the historical and cultural milieu of a region--the long term regional concern over race was clearly reflected through political behavior. This variable had discrete and yet pervasive influence upon political behavior. As mentioned previously, this variable explained the political behavior of a region which politically gave the impression of contradicting prevailing demographic characteristics such as education levels and supporting Wallace--they did so because of the existing attitudes which had developed over time in a region and which are as much a part of its political life as its demographic and economic characteristics.

The next chapter on city precincts will demonstrate not only this historical and cultural attitude which there is called community spirit or community concern, but also will more clearly delineate the socio-economic characteristics and show more definitively their relationship on the precinct or community level which could not be done on the larger county level.

CHAPTER III

THE URBAN PRECINCTS

For the first centuries of American history, Virginia was an important contributor to the Colonial development; Virginia led first the Colonies and later the South; Richmond led Virginia. Similar to many capital cities, Richmond is not the largest city in the state, but it is the administrative, cultural, and historical center of the state. Richmond typifies what "Virginia" is in relation to her history and culture more than does Norfolk which is larger. More importantly, Richmond has long been the political weathervane of Virginia. For a hundred years, from 1864 to 1964 in every presidential election, Richmond voted similarly to the state as a whole and usually within similar proportions.

The 1968 presidential election marked the end of this century-old tradition by giving Humphrey a plurality of 49 percent when the state overall supported the Democrat with a non-plurality of 33 percent; Richmond went Democratic and Virginia went Republican. Further, the state gave George Wallace nearly 24 percent of the popular vote; Richmond gave only 11 percent--half of the state average and less than the national average (13.5 percent). The rejection of this century-old precedent can most likely be attributed to the changing nature of the city itself.

Richmond has followed the example of other American cities whereby the black population has increased in the past few decades in an unprecedented fashion. The increase has been due to natural growth and immigration from the rural areas on the part of blacks and also to a

familiar urban phenomenon, the increasing out-migration of white residents out of the city and into the suburbs. By 1970, approximately half the population of Richmond was black.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 made black voting a reality; this act, in addition to the increasing proportions of black residents in the city, created an influential political force. Further, the black vote follows the national pattern and is usually exclusively Democratic.

The smallest political unit, the precinct, and the smallest demographic unit, the census tract, are means by which the relationship between demographic characteristics and political behavior can more clearly and effectively be demonstrated.¹ Some of the smaller units are much more homogeneous than the larger county units. Consequently, clearer distinctions between demographic variables can be determined on the precinct level than could on the county level.

Racial homogeneity clearly exemplifies the contrast between the two levels of analysis, the county and the precinct. For example, thirty percent of the tracts of the city are exclusively black (at least 90 percent black). The precinct returns from the overlapping precincts show almost exclusive Democratic support in 1968 (97 to 99 percent).² This type of clear relationship could not be shown on the county level because there is no county in the state with as high a percentage of the population black.

¹Census data were collected from the Bureau of Census publication, Census Tracts, 1970 Census of Population and Housing (Richmond, Virginia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area).

²Precinct voting returns are from the Marshall-Wythe Institute of the College of William and Mary.

Charles City county with its 74 percent black population pointed in this direction with very low Wallace support (9 percent) and high Humphrey support (74 percent), but Charles City is an exceptional county. Charles City also has the distinction of being the only county in Virginia to have a majority for Democrat McGovern in 1972. The second greatest black percentage is Surry county with 65 percent. However, when percentages such as these are used, the relationship between race and voting is not as conclusive as using a precinct which is 99 percent black and 99 percent Democratic. Therefore, sharper distinctions can be drawn on the precinct level which could only be suggested on the county level.

Because of the distinctly segregated nature of the city of Richmond and the urbanized portions of its surrounding counties of Henrico and Chesterfield, there are also tracts and precincts which are exclusively white. Consequently, white voting patterns can be demonstrated as significantly as black voting patterns. In addition to the racial homogeneity, there is also considerable homogeneity with respect to such demographic characteristics as education, income, and occupation. This homogeneity of SES characteristics allows sharper distinctions which could not be demonstrated on the more heterogeneous county level. As mentioned earlier in the second chapter, the relationship between voting and demographic characteristics are more demonstrable with the smaller, more homogeneous unit.

The hypotheses posed earlier with respect to socio-economic characteristics can be tested on the precinct level as well. The Wallace vote will relate negatively to education, income, and professionalism and positively to manufacturing (employees).

Generally the variables relating to agriculture (percentage of farmers) and the degree of rurality will not apply to these urbanized precincts of Richmond, Chesterfield, and Henrico.

The relationship between race and AIP support will be negative on the precinct level rather than curvilinear as it was on the county level. In the exclusively black precincts there will be little support; the AIP support will increase as the percentage of blacks decreases. The reason for the different response on the different levels is due to the units of analysis. Thirty percent of the Richmond precincts are exclusively black; the greatest county percentage is only 74 percent. Most of the counties lack the racial homogeneity of these urban precincts; the majority of the precincts are exclusively black or white, so the extreme points of the relationships differ from those which applied in the counties. Because of the smaller and more homogeneous precinct unit, black and white voting patterns can be seen more clearly which could not be done in some counties where black majorities "masked" white voting patterns. The negative relationship also indicates the generally more intense feelings toward race which are revealed by the voting pattern.

This relates to the final variable, community spirit. This community spirit represents the attitudes, outlook, or feeling that a community has toward issues.

To more fully grasp the impact of community spirit on voting behavior, a look at Richmond in the 1960's is useful. According to Scammon and Wattenberg (1970), violent crimes (murder, rape, aggravated assault, etc.) increased 106 percent in the period between 1960 and 1968. With the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the registration drives of the

1960's, black voting power became a reality. Added to this were the ever increasing percentages of black population in the city. Whites moved into the suburbs; blacks moved into the city. The 1960's were marked by significant civil rights legislation and violent race riots; busing became a reality.

This community spirit can at times be the most influential variable. This community attitude encouraged a significant percentage of voters to deviate from traditional partisan or socio-economic affiliations and support a racially conservative third-party candidate. This is much the same phenomenon that was seen in Virginia Beach; Virginia Beach is similar to Chesterfield and Henrico in that all three act as "bedroom communities" to large metropolitan areas. Clearly the relationship between community spirit and voting behavior can be seen in instances such as these.

The East End

The East End of Richmond (census tracts 201-212 and precincts 62-68, see maps 3-A and 3-B) has undergone every form of urban phenomenon. Before the Civil War, the East End was where wealthy Richmonders built their town houses, many of which are still standing. In the twentieth century, the area became a white slum. Gradually blacks began to move in and it became a black slum. Today, most of the area is exclusively black (99 percent) but sections of the area have been declared of "historic interest" by the Richmond Historic Association and houses have been purchased and renovated by upper and upper middle-class whites. Part of the East End is again in a state of transition back into an exclusive area. In spite of the East End being predicted to be the "Georgetown of the '70's," the area is still fairly exclusively black and has

two of the more blighted slums of the city (Church Hill and Fulton Bottom).

At the far east end of the city there is a section which contrasts sharply with the rest of the East End. This section marks the end of the more urbanized section of the city and is more residential and rural. This eastern-most area (tracts 210-212 and precinct 68) is adjacent to exclusively black tracts (208 and 209). The tract which is closest to the exclusively black section (211) is 75 percent black, but the two remaining tracts which also comprise the sixty-eighth precinct are exclusively white. This precinct deviates from the rest of the East End not only racially, but also demographically and politically.

With the exception of the sixty-eighth precinct (tracts 210-212), the East End is homogeneous; it is exclusively black, has the lowest educational level of any single section of the city (7.6 to 10.0 years), has a significantly lower income level (\$5,000), and has high levels of manufacturing and low levels of professionals and is exclusively Democratic.

In contrast, the sixty-eighth precinct, comprised of the one racially mixed tract (211) and two exclusively white tracts (210 and 212) has internal variation in addition to differing from the rest of the East End. The tract of mixed population (75 percent black) has the same exceptionally low educational level of the other East End precincts; the two white tracts are substantially higher. The mixed tract has a median income of \$6,000; the two white tracts average around \$8,600. Additionally, the white tracts also have fewer employees engaged in manufacturing and more in the professions than the mixed tract. However, when contrasted with other white areas, this precinct has a significantly

lower-SES character. As will be shown in a later section on Southside Richmond, there is a very strong similarity between the sixty-eighth precinct of the East End and the sixteenth precinct of Southside.

Politically the East End, again with the exception of the sixty-eighth precinct, votes exclusively Democratic, in accord with established black voting patterns. The Democratic identification does not follow the traditional conservative Southern Democratic identification but is more in the direction of the national Democratic Party with its platforms noted for liberal economic and social policies.

The voters of the sixty-eighth precinct are more prone to follow the pattern of lower income, lower educated, and generally lower-SES individuals and support socially conservative and economically liberal candidates.

The contrast between black and white voting patterns can clearly be demonstrated by these two diverse sections of the East End. For example, in the 1964 presidential election, the black precincts (62-67) gave Goldwater almost no support and voted for Johnson in percentages over ninety-eight percent. The sixty-eighth precinct, voting for Goldwater's social conservatism but unable to give complete support to his economic conservatism in the face of Johnson's economic liberalism, gave Goldwater 36 percent of the vote and Johnson 64 percent. In the 1968 presidential election, Wallace received little support from the black precincts, but 27 percent of the vote in the sixty-eighth precinct.

The 1965 gubernatorial election exemplified a similar phenomenon when a third-party candidate, Story, running on a socially and economically conservative platform, received almost no support in the black precincts of the East End, but 22 percent of the vote in the sixty-eighth

precinct.

The third-party candidacy of both Wallace and Story are slightly different than traditional two-party races. Voters are less inclined to vote for a third-party candidate; voters are socialized into a two-party tradition and third-party candidates are generally considered to have poor chances of winning.³ Therefore, voters are less inclined to vote for a candidate they perceive as having little chance of winning; they feel this would be "throwing their vote away." This is particularly demonstrated by the number of people who professed to be planning to vote for Wallace before the election and those who actually did (Scammon and Wattenberg, 1970, found that percentage to diminish from 21 to 13.5 percent). When voters do "deviate" from the traditional two-party pattern it would be because the third-party candidate particularly represents their views, or the status quo. Consequently, when a third-party candidate receives fifteen percent of the vote, his candidacy becomes significant.

Further contrast between the two diverse sections of the East End are demonstrated by the Democratic gubernatorial primary in 1969 when Howell and Battle ran for the Democratic nomination. Battle won the nomination in the state, but the black precincts of the East End gave Howell better than 88 percent of the vote. The sixty-eighth precinct gave Howell 67 percent of the vote. Within the East End, the blacks supported Howell for his liberal economic and social platform; the lower-SES whites supported Howell for his economic liberalism (as well as his Democratic identification).

³See Scammon and Wattenberg (1970), for their discussion of the "Wasted-Vote Syndrome."

The general election in 1969 again found a deviation between this sixty-eighth precinct and the rest of the East End, but to a lesser extent. The black precincts went Republican with 56 percent of the vote; the sixty-eighth precinct gave Republican Holton better than 61 percent of the vote. Both sections supported Howell over Battle in the primary and Holton over Battle in the general election but to different extents. This behavior is best explained as an anti-Battle vote. Battle became identified with the conservatism, both economically and socially, of past Democratic leaders and lost the black vote; the feelings were so great that many blacks supported a Republican over a Democrat. Battle's economic conservatism lost the lower-SES white vote. Thus the voters of both races felt their interests were better represented by Holton if they could not have Howell.

In the 1971 special election for lieutenant-governor, Howell again ran, this time as an Independent against Democrat Kostel and Republican Shafran. Again the differences between black and white voting patterns became apparent. All the precincts of the East End gave Howell a majority of their vote; however, the black precincts gave Howell better than 90 percent of their vote; the sixty-eighth precinct gave Howell only 56 percent of the vote. This diminishment of Howell's support by lower-SES whites of the sixty-eighth precinct may be associated with several issues. One may have been the third-party label taken by Howell. As mentioned earlier, third-party identification can have a detrimental effect on voters. The sixty-eighth precinct which is predominantly lower-SES whites who work in manufacturing, may have strong union ties or identifications, hence would be more inclined to support a Democrat over an Independent. The second issue was busing, a highly emotion-laden

issue. Howell was one of the earliest opponents of Virginia's massive resistance of the 1950's after the 1954 Brown decision, and was generally perceived to be very liberal on racial issues.

In spite of the impact of both of these considerations, a majority of voters of this precinct concentrated less on Howell's social liberalism and more on his economic liberalism which was in their interests. The voting patterns found in this area both black and lower-SES white will be reflected in other similar sections of the city, and the East End will be referred to frequently. Race plays an important role in precinct voting, both as an issue and as a dichotomy between the voters themselves.

Southside

Southside Richmond (see maps 3-A and 3-B) is the part of the city which is separated from the main city by the James River (census tracts 601-609 and precincts 6-16). Southside is one of the two major manufacturing centers of the city. Racially the area is very heterogeneous as compared with the East End. Four census tracts (601-604) and four corresponding precincts (6-9) have populations that vary between 50 to 80 percent black. The tracts immediately adjacent to this section on either side (605 and 607) are 11 and 13 percent black, respectively; moving outward beyond these two tracts to the two next adjacent tracts (606 and 608) the black population again drops to the point of insignificance (less than 2 percent; see map 3-J). The contrast between these sections of Southside is shown not only racially but also politically.

The difficulty of overlapping precinct boundaries with census tract boundaries (voting returns with demographic data) was mentioned earlier and become apparent in Southside for the first time. An example of

this problem can be demonstrated with an example such as the tenth precinct. This precinct is composed of approximately one-half of tract 605 which is 11 percent black, one-eighth of tract 601 which is 53 percent black, and three-eighths of tract 603 which is 59 percent black. This tract is seemingly racially very heterogeneous; however, politically the tenth precinct exhibits characteristics similar to its neighboring exclusively white precincts.

Block statistics indicate that the sections of three tracts which make up the precinct are exclusively white as indicated by their voting pattern.⁴ This is an example of the type of problems involved in this type of analysis.

Tracts 601-604 has the majority of the blacks in Southside (50 to 80 percent black tracts) and the corresponding precincts (6-9) have lower levels of education, income, and professionalism, and higher levels of manufacturing and operatives. The political pattern is indicative of a racially mixed but predominantly black precinct, i.e., some support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace (between 10 to 20 percent for all three racially conservative candidates), but not overwhelming, and high support for Howell. However, the fifteen or so percent for Story and Wallace are significant due to the third-party nature of their candidacies.

The deviant precinct is the eighth precinct which falls predominately in the predominantly lower-SES white tract 607. This precinct, according to block statistics and political behavior has the greatest white population of these predominantly black precincts. This is

⁴These statistics and others following were taken from the Bureau of Census publication, Block Statistics, Richmond, 1970.

reflected in its voting behavior--the eighth precinct gave Goldwater 36 percent of their vote, Story 20 percent and Wallace 21 percent, and gave Howell significantly less support than did the other precincts in this section, especially in 1971 when busing became an important issue.

The tracts (607-609) south of these predominantly black tracts, of which the eighth precinct could more exactly be placed is also of the same lower-SES character as the predominantly black tracts except that they are predominantly white. The only difference is that this section has higher levels of manufacturing employees. The voting pattern is very indicative of its demographic nature, i.e., high support for Goldwater, Story and Wallace. In fact, Wallace received more support in the sixteenth precinct (which contains all of tracts 607-609) than in any other precinct in the city (44 percent). This precinct is very similar both demographically and politically to the sixty-eighth precinct of the East End. The importance of the race issue in this precinct is indicated by the bare majority for Howell, who was not only economically liberal which would appeal to these lower-SES voters, but also socially liberal which did not appeal to them. The most significant drop was in the eighth precinct which is comprised almost entirely of tract 607 (the precinct is a small portion of the larger tract) which decreased its support of Howell 20 percentage points between 1969 and 1971, due ostensibly to the greater impact of the race issue.

The tracts on the other side of the predominantly black tracts are also predominantly white as were those of far Southside (the sixteenth precinct), but demographically the nature of this section (tracts 605 and 606 and precincts 10-15) is significantly higher in levels of education, income, and professionalism. Due to the higher-SES nature of

this section, their voting pattern would be expected to be economically conservative. This is indeed the case as indicated by high support for Goldwater, Nixon, and Holton, and low support for Howell and Humphrey. However, this area also gave very significant support to Story and Wallace, averaging around 30 and 20 percent, respectively. The prevailing influence appears to be the community concern over racial issues, busing, and a proximity to black areas, which according to McEvoy (1970) and Lipset and Raab (1970) contributes to support for racially conservative candidates.

Moving into an area which was then part of Chesterfield county in 1968, but now which is part of the city of Richmond, an area which is very similar to Southside is found. This particular section (census tracts 1001.05, 1002.01, 1002.02, 1002.04, 1003.01, and 1003.03, and the precincts of McGuire, Falling Creek, Broad Rock, and parts of Elkhardt, Baulah, and Belmont; see maps 3-A and 3-B) is immediately adjacent and westward of the lower-SES white section of Southside (the sixteenth precinct). The nature of this section is much the same as the adjacent Southside area, i.e., the median education is similar, the level of income begins at a similar level and increases as the distance from Southside westward increases, and the section is one of the two highest manufacturing areas in the urbanized section of Richmond (with Southside being the other). Politically this section is similar to Southside as demonstrated by its high support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace. In fact Story carried all the precincts of this section and received the highest support in the city there (around 45 percent). The Howell support in this section was as low as Southside, due ostensibly to the racial liberalism of that candidate. Here again the impact of

low SES in conjunction with a community concern over race-oriented issues influences an economically conservative vote; an issue so pervasive that it influences these lower-SES voters to defeat an economically liberal candidate because of his social liberalism.

The section immediately adjacent to and west of the higher-SES part of Southside (tracts 1001.03, 1001.04, and 1009.03 and the precincts of German School, Crestwood, and Bon Air) has one tract which was part of Chesterfield and now is part of Richmond (1001.04); the other two tracts were and are part of Chesterfield county. This section is similar to the higher-SES section of Southside which it is adjacent to; i.e., it has higher levels of education, income, and professionalism. It is also similar politically with high support for Goldwater, Nixon, significant support for Story and Wallace, and low support for Howell. The predominantly higher-SES precincts of Southside and the aforementioned adjacent sections of Chesterfield appear to share a predominant community concern over race and the busing issue. This issue influences lower-SES sections to reject an economically liberal candidate because of his accompanying liberal attitudes towards race (such as Howell). In higher-SES sections the same response is seen--a rejection of liberal economic and social attitudes. The explanation would appear to be this community concern over race which permeates the political behavior.

The West End

The West End of Richmond (census tracts 501-506 and precincts 30-40) is the most affluent and exclusive section of the city. It is exclusively white with high levels of education, income, and professionalism. One of the most affluent sections of the West End is Windsor Farms (tract 506 and precinct 32) which has a median educational level of 15.6 years

and a median income of \$42,000, and better than 50 percent of the working force engaged as professionals. These medians are high even for the West End, but it is an example of the direction this section takes.

Politically this section reflects a conservative trend in the suburban-Republican tradition. Goldwater carried the West End overwhelmingly with between 70 and 85 percent of the vote. Story, also running as a social and economic conservative, received between 15 and 25 percent of the vote. Wallace and Howell, both running as economic liberals received less than 10 percent of the vote in 1968 and 1969, respectively. Even in 1971, Howell received no more than 25 percent of the vote. Three candidates ran as social conservatives (Goldwater, Story, and Wallace); two ran as economic conservatives (Goldwater and Story) and one as an economic liberal (Wallace). The only significant support was for the economically conservative candidates, hence it would appear that this factor was more attractive to these voters of the West End as opposed to social conservatism.

The section immediately adjacent and west of the city limits in Henrico county (tracts 2001.04, 2001.05, 2001.06, 2001.07, 2001.09, 2002.01, 2002.02, 2003.02 and the precincts of Maybeury, Darbyshire, Tuckahoe, Rollingwood, Freeman, Ridge, Skipwith, Forest Heights, Westwood, and Monument), demographically and politically is similar to the West End of the city. The same can be said for the Chesterfield suburban area immediately across the James River from these Henrico suburbs (tracts 1001.01, 1001.02, 1009.01, 1009.02, and 1009.07 and the precincts of Old Gun, Stony Point, Granite, Southampton, and a small section of Bon Air). All of these suburban areas have high income and educational levels and high numbers of professionals and low percentages

of manufacturing. The one deviant area is tract 2003.03 and the Crest-view precinct which resembles the section further north in Henrico; this area has lower educational and income levels and higher percentages of manufacturing and will be discussed with respect to the northwest Henrico suburbs.

These sections of Henrico and Chesterfield which are similar to the West End with respect to socio-economic characteristics are also very similar politically; i.e., they all had high support for Goldwater, Nixon, and Holton, significant support for Story and low support for Wallace, Howell, and Humphrey. These sections vote economically conservative as does the West End, which is the expected political behavior for upper-SES, white, suburban, Republican precincts.

Downtown

Downtown Richmond (tracts 301-306) appears to be predominantly office buildings and retail stores; however, the five downtown precincts (1-5) totaled 4,000 votes in the 1968 presidential election. Downtown is as segregated as the rest of the city with two exclusively black tracts (301 and 302), one mixed tract (306 with 61 percent of the population black) and three predominantly white tracts (303-305, with approximately 15 percent of the population black).

The two exclusively black tracts (301 and 302) have low levels of income and education. The voting pattern follows the black voting pattern of the East End, i.e., no support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace and high percentages (in the nineties) for Johnson, Humphrey, and Howell.

One tract (303) is predominantly white with significant levels of professionalism, high educational levels, but very low income levels

(less than \$500). This is probably due to the Medical College of Virginia (MCV) being located in this downtown tract. These white, educated, and professional but impoverished voters include medical, dental, and nursing students living in the MCV dormitories. The voting pattern for this precinct (the fifth) is predominantly liberal which is what would be expected if these voters are indeed students, i.e., strong support for Johnson, Humphrey, and Howell (and low support for Goldwater, Story, Wallace, and Nixon).

Another predominantly white tract (305) is an area which is partially downtown and partially in the Fan (this section will be explained in detail in a later section), and contrasts with the aforementioned predominantly white tract. This tract also has high levels of education and professionalism but it also has high levels of income. This tract consists of two precincts (the second and third), one of which (the latter) is moderately liberal (and located partially in the Fan) and the other (the former) which is fairly conservative. The moderately liberal third precinct gave strong support to Johnson and Humphrey (88 and 65 percent, respectively). The section of this precinct which overlaps into this tract is white; however, the overall precinct is mixed, which is reflected in its voting behavior. The support for Howell was 56 percent in 1969 but dropped to 25 percent in 1971, due perhaps to the impact of the busing issue.

It should be noted that in spite of the 1969 election being a primary and the 1971 election being a general election, due to the nature of the campaign and the candidates involved, the liberal-conservative dichotomy is still served in spite of the distinctly different natures of the two elections. It should also be noted that while race was a

more important campaign issue in the 1969 election than in the 1971 election, it was still an important undercurrent, particularly when related to busing.

The more conservative second precinct strongly supported Goldwater and Nixon (with 70 percent of the vote) and gave moderate support to Story (20 percent). Howell received low support in both 1969 and 1971 as did Wallace in 1968. Both of these precincts had low support for Wallace. Essentially the downtown area follows the same racial and socio-economic pattern found in other parts of the city, i.e., blacks were strongly Democratic, upper-SES whites were economically conservative and neither group supported Wallace.

Northside

The Northside of Richmond is one of the two most racially heterogeneous sections of the city north of the James River (the Fan is the other). Northside's racial composition contrasts with the exclusively white West End and the almost exclusively black East End (the deviant area of the East End is the sixty-eighth precinct). The greatest black concentrations are located closest to the downtown area (ninety percent or better) and decrease as the distance north of the city increases (the exception to this is tract 103; see map 3-A).

Demographically, Northside is relatively homogeneous; its character is predominantly lower-SES although the socio-economic nature of Northside increases (educational and income levels) in much the same fashion as the racial composition; i.e., as the proportion of whites increase, so do the levels of income and education.

At the turn of the century and into the post-World War I period, the Northside was a fairly exclusive area. It is also one of the areas

where the urban transitional nature of the city can be seen; i.e., the movement of whites outward (in this case north) and the movement of blacks in their place. There is also a substantial problem in this section with respect to the overlapping of census tracts and precinct boundaries (see maps 3-A and 3-B).

Northside includes all the one hundred series census tracts (see map 3-A) and the forty-sixth through the sixty-first precincts. The first tract (101) is about half black with a lower-SES character and is composed of parts of three different and distinct precincts, the forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and the forty-ninth. The forty-seventh precinct exhibits the voting pattern of an area with an exceptionally high proportion of blacks (perhaps 80 or 85 percent as contrasted with the 53 percent of the overall tract. This pattern is based on the low support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace, and high support for Howell (ranging from 75 percent in 1969 to 87 percent in 1971. The block statistics of the particular section of the tract where the forty-seventh precinct overlaps this tract shows one block which is 75 percent black and a second block which is 100 percent black. It would appear that the 53 percent black population of this tract is concentrated in the area where this precinct overlaps. This would be substantiated by the fact that the other two precincts of this tract (the forty-eighth and the forty-ninth) exhibit predominantly lower-SES white voting patterns. However, in spite of the lower-SES nature of the white areas of this tract, and the appeal of economic liberalism, this precinct gave Howell only 9 percent of the vote in 1969 and 15 percent in 1971. This white area is adjacent to black areas and it appears that the racial issue or the overall community concern over race prohibits these lower-SES white

voters from supporting an economically and socially liberal candidate (Howell).

Tracts 102 and 104 can be viewed together due to their homogeneity. These two tracts are the only exclusively white tracts in Northside; they have high levels of education, income, and professionalism (a generally upper-SES character). It would be expected from the patterns found elsewhere that these tracts would be economically conservative. This is indeed the case as exemplified by strong support for Goldwater, Story, and Nixon. This conservatism appears to be economically based due to the very low support given Wallace in these precincts (the forty-eighth to fifty-second). It appears that if these voters are given the choice of three racially conservative candidates (Goldwater, Story, and Wallace) and two economically conservative candidates (Goldwater and Story) and one economically liberal candidate (Wallace) and they support the two economically conservative candidates and not the economically liberal candidate, then this is a vote for economic conservatism and not social or racial conservatism. These two tracts which are similar to the West End with respect to their socio-economic character also reflect the West End politically.

The one deviating precinct, the fifty-second exhibits all the tendencies of the other precincts of these two tracts, but to a lesser extent. For example, the support for Goldwater was less in this precinct as was the support for Story; the support for Howell was significantly higher. From this it could be concluded that there is a section of some percentage of black population. Block statistics do in fact reveal that there is a section which is 30 percent black. Hence, there is a significant but not overwhelming black population which shows up

clearly in the voting returns of that precinct but does not exist in the tract in question.

Tract 103 is exclusively black, with low levels of education, income, professionalism, and manufacturing. The tract is composed of portions of two precincts, the fifty-first and the fifty-second. The fifty-second was discussed in the previous paragraph; the portion of the fifty-first precinct which is in tract 103 is a sanitarium. The inmates are prohibited from voting and the employees for the most part would be voting in their home precincts, hence the voting returns of this precinct would not be relevant to this tract since any voters in this precinct would be outside the tract. The fifty-second precinct exhibits the political character of a racially mixed area. The portion of tract 103 which is in the fifty-second precinct is exclusively black as is the whole tract, but the voting returns of this precinct do not reflect, nor does the other overlapping precinct (the fifty-first), the exclusively black composition of this tract.

Four tracts (105, 106, 108, and 109) have their racial heterogeneity in common. These tracts are between 59 and 73 percent black and are composed of portions of nine precincts (52-56, 58-61, and a small portion of the sixty-second precinct).

Of these four tracts, two (105 and 106) show some internal homogeneity. These two tracts are as racially mixed as are the other two tracts, but their levels of education, income, and professionalism are significantly higher as opposed to tracts 108 and 109. The major portion of the population where tract 105 and the fifty-second precinct overlap is black, according to block statistics; this accounted for the mixed voting returns in this precinct. This concentration of blacks

in this tract is the only one; the other portion of the tract is white, as reflected by the voting returns of the fifty-third and fifty-sixth precincts which make up this tract. These precincts reflect the upper-SES character of the remainder of this precinct by being economically conservative, i.e., strong support for Goldwater, Story, and Nixon, and low support for Wallace and Howell.

Tract 106 is made up of portions of three precincts (53, 54, and 56). As mentioned earlier, tract 106 shares with tract 105 characteristics of higher education, income, and professionalism. The precincts (53 and 56) which tract 106 shares with 105 have been described above--economically conservative. The precinct which tract 106 does not share with tract 105 is the fifty-fourth precinct. The portion of the precinct which is in this tract is predominantly black; this can be seen not only from the block statistics, but also by their voting behavior, i.e., strong support for Johnson, Humphrey, and Howell, and little or no support for Goldwater, Story, or Wallace.

Tracts 108 and 109 are approximately 40 percent black and also have an internal homogeneity. They both have lower levels of education, income, and professionalism, and significant percentages of the working force engaged in manufacturing. Because of the racially mixed but predominantly white composition of these tracts and the lower SES identification, it would be expected that there would be a significant response for Wallace.

Tracts 108 and 109 are composed of portions of precincts 58-61. Precincts 59, 60, and 61 had substantial support for Goldwater (over 60 percent), and high support for Story (35 to 45 percent) and Wallace (23 to 32 percent); these votes can be interpreted as being racially

conservative because this was the shared characteristic of the three candidates, and because of the SES of the area. There was also strong support for the economic liberalism of Howell (in addition to that of Wallace). This region again brings to mind the lower-SES voting pattern-- socially conservative and economically liberal. The high Howell support considering his social liberalism reflects the diminishment of race as an issue in this section of the city. This allowed the lower-SES voter to rationalize voting for a candidate who represented not only economically liberal attitudes, but also racially liberal ones (Howell).

The fifty-eighth precinct was the one deviant precinct which did not follow this pattern. This precinct reveals its mixed composition by its voting as well as by tract data. A portion of this precinct which is in tract 108 is heavily black. Consequently this precinct voted for Johnson in 1964, but also gave significant support to Story, Wallace, and Howell (in 1971). This appears to be explained by the mixed nature of the population in this tract.

The final tracts of Northside, 107, 110, and 111, share a common racial composition; they are all almost exclusively black. One significant difference between these tracts and equally black tracts in the adjacent East End is that they have significantly higher levels of education and income than have been found in other exclusively black sections. This may possibly be evidence of a black middle class moving outward into the suburbs.

These three tracts are composed of sections of five precincts (46, 47, 55, 57, and 61). The first three of these precincts exhibit typical black voting patterns (no support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace, and very high support for Johnson, Humphrey, and Howell).

The sixty-first precinct, of which tract 110 has a small portion, exhibits a mixed but predominantly conservative pattern, both economically and socially (strong support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace and low support for Howell). This again may be the result of some white voters unable to accept Howell's economic liberalism if it is accompanied by social liberalism.

The fifty-seventh precinct is included almost entirely in tract 107; this tract is more than 90 percent black. However, the voting pattern is not as strong as it normally would be expected--this precinct gave Goldwater 40 percent of the vote in 1964. The black voting pattern becomes evident by the very strong support for Howell and low support for Story and Wallace. These voting returns reflect the transitional nature of any city--the urban pattern of whites moving further out of the city and being replaced by blacks. It also may reflect that blacks were not voting in proportion to their numbers in 1964. These phenomena are especially evident in Richmond during the 1960's and are further demonstrated by the changing voting pattern of this precinct.

Northwestern Henrico Suburbs

The northwestern suburbs in Henrico county are in many ways an extension to the adjacent areas of the city--the West End and Northside. This section covers a fairly massive but homogeneous area (tracts 2001.03, 2003.04, 2004.02, 2004.03, 2004.04, 2005.01, 2005.02, 2005.03, 2006, 2007, 2008.01, and 2008.02, and the precincts of Bethlehem, Bryan Park, Crestview, Greendale, Hermitage, Hilliard, Hundary, Lakeside, Ridge, Skipwith, Summit Court, and Tucker; see maps 3-A and 3-B). As mentioned previously, the land area covered is large, but it is relatively homogeneous.

These suburbs are almost exclusively white; the largest population of blacks is 8 percent which is not really overly significant.

Of the twelve tracts, eight resemble the West End with high medians of education and income. Four tracts resemble Northside and have lower levels of education and income. This latter section is the one in which the 2003.03 tract which was separated from the West End suburbs earlier more properly belongs. Of the tracts which have higher levels of education, there is a very high degree of professionalism; of the tracts with lower income and education, there are higher degrees of manufacturing employment.

The voting pattern follows the demographic composition of the tracts closely. For example, the lowest Wallace support is in the precincts and tracts of the higher levels of education, income, and professionalism. The lowest Wallace response (9 percent) was in the Ridge precinct (tract 2001.03) which is also the tract with the highest level of median education in the area (see map 3-K). Wallace's greatest support was in the tracts and precincts of lesser education, income, and professionalism, with more manufacturing workers. The greatest Wallace support in this area (32.5 percent) was in the Bloomingdale precinct (tract 2007), which had the lowest educational median in the area and among the highest levels of manufacturing workers (see map 3-P). The contrast between these homogeneous and yet different precincts show clearly the relationship between education, professionalism, manufacturing (as an occupation) and the Wallace vote.

The upper-SES precincts demonstrate voting patterns of economic conservatism. The other precincts which were lower in their SES but still not what could be called lower SES, exhibited conservatism on

both the social and economic level. This latter section also gave slight support to Howell. The SES of this section is significantly higher than the usual manufacturing or working-class area and it apparently does not identify with the economic liberalism of the Howell platform. The impact of the community concern over race is demonstrated by the significant response to Wallace, Story, and Goldwater. It appears to be a conservatism on both levels.

Northeastern Henrico Suburbs

The northeastern suburbs in Henrico county (tracts 2008.03, 2010.01, 2010.02, 2010.03, 2011.01, 2011.02, 2012.01, 2012.02, 2013, 2014.01 and the precincts of Brook Hill, Glen Echo, Glen Lea, Highland Gardens, Highland Springs, Montrose, and Ratcliffe) are also fairly homogeneous. With the exception of one tract (2010.03) and one precinct (Ratcliffe), this section is nearly exclusively white. It is also less populated and is more rural than the northwestern suburbs. The educational and income levels are lower as are the number of professionals. In addition, a significant proportion of the working force is in manufacturing. Despite the identification with the manufacturing industry, and what would appear to be working-class identification (judging from the demographic characteristics), this section is similar to other lower-SES precincts which have been unable to accept economic liberalism when it was accompanied by social liberalism.

This is demonstrated by strong support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace, and low support for Howell, who should have appealed to these lower-SES voters. One of the influencers of this overall conservatism may be the variable this section has that no other in the urbanized section of the standard metropolitan statistical area of Richmond has--

rurality. The conservatism of this section (as demonstrated by its vote) is reminiscent of the conservatism of the rural, strongly Southern Democratic counties of the state. This area is less populated than others in this urban area and the rurality can be thought to be one of the influencers of the conservatism of these northeastern precincts.

As mentioned earlier, with one exception, these northeastern suburbs are almost exclusively white. The exception was tract 2010.03 and the Ratcliffe precinct. The mixed population is evidenced in the voting pattern, but not until the 1969 gubernatorial primary. Previous to that year, the support for Goldwater, Story, and Wallace had been high (64, 32, and 35 percent, respectively), much higher than would be expected from a precinct which is 62 percent black. The black vote became evident in 1969 when Ratcliffe precinct was the only precinct in the area which Howell carried (53 percent). From this it could be that blacks may not have been voting in proportion to their numbers until 1969 or that it is an area of racial transition; however, due to the relatively rural nature of the area, the former is suspected.

The voting pattern of the northeastern suburbs (Henrico) are very similar to that of the county overall. This is probably due to the degree of rurality which is unique to these "urban" precincts. This area is another lower-SES section which normally would have favored economically liberal and socially conservative candidates, but which was unable to support a candidate of the former characteristic if it were accompanied by the latter characteristic. This phenomenon becomes even sharper on the precinct level when delineation between black and white voting can be made.

The Fan

There is probably no section of the city which has as much definitional disparity as the "Fan." This section is so called because it "fans" outward from the downtown area until the West End is reached (see map 3-A). Because of the differing definitions, the broadest will be used here. The Fan is bounded by Belvidere on the east, Lafayette on the west, Broad on the north and the James River on the south (tracts 401-416, and precincts 2, and 17-29; see maps 3-A and 3-B).

The Fan has tracts which are predominantly white, black, and mixed. It is also the area of the greatest and longest renovation in the city. The best designation for this area is an area in transition. There are some sections of the Fan which have older, very expensive homes--this area by the strictest definition is the Fan. There are other sections which have been white slums, then black slums and are now in the process of being renovated to become upper middle-class housing.

Demographically the Fan is composed of upper middle-class whites, lower-SES whites working in manufacturing, and poor blacks. As would be expected, the highest levels of education are in the predominantly white upper middle-class sections; lower levels are found in the predominantly lower-SES white sections, and the lowest levels are found in the black sections.

Politically the Fan is as complex as it is racially and demographically. Tracts 401, 403, and 408 are the lower-SES tracts (white). As opposed to the traditional economically liberal and socially conservative voting pattern of this social group, this section votes in what appears to be a conservatism on both levels by giving high support to Goldwater, Story, and Wallace and low support to Howell. However, what appears to

economic conservatism is probably not that but is a rejection of the social liberalism which is generally found in an economically liberal candidate. The Fan is an area of a highly transitional nature; racially it is very heterogeneous. The lower-SES whites who live in the Fan are particularly undereducated and poor; race in this area of great racial heterogeneity is an explosive issue. Consequently these voters must reject economic liberalism if it is combined with social liberalism. This is why Wallace received more support than did Howell, because of Wallace's economic liberalism and his social conservatism.

Tracts 404, 405, 406, and 407 are fairly homogeneous--they are the older, wealthier, upper middle-class section of the Fan. Consequently, this is reflected in the voting pattern which is economically conservative. This is shown by strong support for Goldwater, Story, and Nixon, all three times he ran, and little or no support for Wallace and Howell.

Tract 409 has 20 percent of its population black; a significantly high percentage of the populace work in manufacturing; it also has low levels of education and income. This is a lower-SES section where the impact of the race issue appears to lose impetus from 1969 to 1971; this conclusion is drawn from the fact that Howell only received 20 percent of the vote in 1969, but in 1971, he carried the area.

Tract 410 is another area of mixed political behavior; it is predominantly white with high levels of education, but low income. Wallace received little support in this area as did Howell in 1969. However, in 1971, Howell increased his support by fifty percent to total 65 percent. Much of the Fan is in a constant state of transition and flux, hence, a differing electorate may account for the change. Another explanation of this political behavior may be that race diminished as an influential

factor as has occurred in other sections. Or these highly educated, but low income whites could represent young, liberal, student voters and thus explain the changing voting pattern.

Tract 411 has two-thirds of its population black, with accompanying low levels of education, income, and professionalism. The black population is concentrated in the nineteenth precinct which exhibits the typical black voting pattern. The section of tract 411 which comprises the twenty-third precinct has the one-third white population of the tract. The lower-SES whites show a strong Democratic tendency through their vote for Johnson, Humphrey, and Howell in 1969 (Wallace received 20 percent of the vote in 1968). This precinct strongly supported Howell when he ran as a Democrat, but dropped their support significantly when he changed his party identification in 1971. This could relate to strong Democratic ties by these lower-SES white manufacturing workers; the diminished vote may be related to the party change. Or this may be the result of an issue which became prominent in the interim--busing.

The next two tracts 414 and 415 are exclusively black according to the census tract data; however, the voting pattern of this area is similar to the lower-SES precincts just mentioned (strong support for Johnson and Humphrey, no support for Wallace (which follows the black voting pattern rather than the lower-SES white pattern), and a drop in support of Howell (from 1969 to 1971) of 61 percent in the twenty-fourth precinct and 42 percent in the twenty-fifth precinct).

This pattern is not typical for what has been found in other exclusively black areas. These tracts give the appearance of being black middle-class areas with a median income of \$7,700 in tract 414 and \$9,400 in tract 415. The educational medians of the respective tracts

are 10.0 and 11.5 years. These are the highest levels found in any exclusively black section of the city. These middle-class blacks could be voting strictly by party lines, thus when Howell switched from the Democratic to Independent Party, these black voters continued to support the Democratic candidates. Another explanation may be in the nature of the region itself; since the Fan is such a transitional area, there may have been a shift in the racial composition of the electorate of these tracts and precincts. The third alternative could be that this reduction in Howell support may be interpreted as an anti-busing vote on the part of these middle-class black voters--this vote would be in sympathy with black separatist attitudes.

The final tract of the Fan is tract 416 which also has mixed population (38 percent black). This tract has higher levels of education and income, due partially to its proximity to Windsor Farms, the most exclusive section of the city. This area is overwhelmingly Democratic (with strong support for Johnson, Godwin, Humphrey, and Howell in 1969) in the genre of the traditional conservative Southern Democratic Party. Again the reduction of the Howell support in the interim between 1969 and 1971 could be related to the party change and/or the busing issue.

The Fan exhibits patterns which are similar and dissimilar to other parts of the city. The upper-SES white vote is economically conservative; some of the lower-SES whites voted socially conservative and economically liberal when they could, but would not accept economic liberalism when it was accompanied by social liberalism. Other lower-SES white areas of the city where race was a less violent issue, were able to rationalize the support of Howell's social liberalism. The exclusively black sections followed the pattern found in other exclusively black areas--strongly

liberal and Democratic. However, there was one middle-class black section which did not follow this pattern; this was the first time this phenomenon was noted in this research.

What makes the Fan unique is that it is an area of such transition; there are many and varied levels of society within a small location. Some tracts have been completely renovated and now are upper middle-class housing. Other areas are in various stages of renovation and redevelopment. This can be seen on the streets of the Fan where one side of the street has upper middle-class houses (renovated) and the other side of the street has lower-SES white and poor black nonrenovated housing, which in a few years will probably become upper middle-class renovated housing. The transitional and heterogeneous nature of the Fan is indeed reflected in its political behavior.

Conclusions

The community concern of the Richmond urbanized precincts concerning race as demonstrated by political behavior cannot be denied. Race is definitely an ongoing concern as evidenced by the recent Merhige decision on busing in the area and its subsequent reversal by the Supreme Court and the effect both of these events had on public opinion are clear indicators. This concern has reached a peak in recent years but this is not indicative of this phenomenon being only issue saliency which relates to recent elections, but is an ongoing, continuing sentiment which has existed covertly for a century but has recently become overt due to recent events.

These recent events of the past decade are civil rights legislation, voting rights acts, in-migration of blacks and out-migration of whites resulting in an urban black majority, race riots in 1968,

increased crime, and most recently, busing, have made this ever-present community sentiment highly visible. The past covert nature of this phenomenon can be demonstrated politically by high support for Goldwater in 1964, Story in 1965, and Wallace in 1968 (in some areas). It has thus been demonstrated that this community sentiment can explain "deviant" voting behavior in instances when partisan identification and demographic characteristics cannot; therefore, this phenomenon is the most pervasive political influencer, in many instances.

The validity of the earlier hypotheses was furthered by the precinct findings. For the most part, education, income, and professionalism responded negatively to the Wallace support; the percentage of manufacturing workers responded strongly positive--this variable had the strength and overwhelming predictability that it had on the regional level.

Lower-SES white voters demonstrated a penchant for supporting socially conservative and economically liberal candidates when they could. In some instances these lower-SES whites would support economically liberal candidates in spite of social liberalism. In other instances, especially in lower-SES whites who lived with blacks in adjacent neighborhoods and precincts (such as in the Fan), these lower-SES voters would reject economic liberalism, which would have been beneficial to them because with it, they must accept social liberalism. This is part of the reason why Wallace, despite his third-party candidacy, appealed to this group; Wallace combined these two characteristics which appealed to lower-SES white voters, a combination which occurs with decreasing frequency.

The middle-class white voters demonstrated a susceptibility to community sentiment by significant support of racially conservative candidates. Upper-SES white voters voted economically conservative-- this was demonstrated by a tendency to support Goldwater and Story who were economically conservative and reject Wallace and Howell who were economically liberal. The characteristics of higher education, income, and rates of professionalism contributed to this low support for Wallace (negatively).

The overwhelming majority of black voters in the city are lower-SES and voted liberal and Democratic. There was only one deviant area; this phenomenon was explained by a black middle class, anti-busing attitudes on the part of black separatists, or strong Democratic identification which prohibited these voters from supporting a candidate such as Howell because of his non-Democratic label.

There was also evidence of Wallace support among Democratic-tending lower-SES white voters, but not among upper-SES white Democratic tending voters. This is probably attributable to the attachment of these upper-SES voters to the economic conservatism of the traditional Southern Democratic Party, thereby they rejected the economic liberalism of the AIP candidate.

Again the impact of the community spirit variable has been demonstrated. It has been clearly shown that in some instances this variable can and did have the most pervasive and profound effect upon political behavior.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this research have been threefold. The first of these objectives was simply to look at Virginia politics. Virginia politics were described and evaluated as they developed simultaneously and reciprocally with Virginia history and culture. Past and present politics of Virginia have been reviewed within their historical and cultural milieu. The impact of this milieu upon politics has been reiterated and substantiated; the historical and cultural milieu have been invaluable in explaining and interpreting past and present politics.

The second major objective was to merge a behavioristic and cultural approach in the analysis of political behavior. This was an attempt to evaluate certain demographic variables which affect political behavior within the influence of their cultural milieu. This again refers to political analysis within its proper milieu.

Certain demographic characteristics were selected and conclusions drawn from statistical data--this was the behavioristic approach. The cultural approach was utilized by first evaluating the cultural milieu of political behavior and second by introducing the variable of regional or community political spirit. This regional or community political spirit as an influence of political behavior was the third objective of this study and further was the operationalization of the influence of the historical and cultural milieu upon politics. Thus, there was the merger of two approaches, the introduction of a new variable, and the

third and final major objective.

Briefly, the demographic characteristics selected for analysis dealt with socio-economic status, race, and partisanship. Generally, in the overall analysis, these variables responded in the predicted manner.

The socio-economic variables of education, income, and professionalism were negatively associated with the AIP support. This was particularly demonstrated in the upper-SES precincts of the West End of Richmond and the comparable precincts of Henrico and Chesterfield; these areas had little support for Wallace or Howell but tended to support economically conservative candidates.

Another area which showed the relationship clearly and which was not encumbered by intervening variables such as a large black population and a subsequent regional or community concern over race or a large manufacturing population was Northern Virginia. Northern Virginia had none of these intervening variables mentioned and demonstrated a strong negative relationship between education, income, and professionalism, and AIP support.

There are other areas which were encumbered by the influences of such variables and the relationships they demonstrated were not as strong as those of Northern Virginia. Virginia Beach is an example of high education, income, and professionalism, low manufacturing and black population, but high Wallace support; Virginia Beach is also influenced by a community concern over race which influenced its AIP support.

Prince George county has high education, income, and professionalism, but also has a significant black population and high percentages of manufacturing which influenced its high Wallace support. The same phenomenon is seen in Henrico and Chesterfield counties, but with lower black

population.

Thus it can be seen that education, income, and professionalism do respond negatively to the AIP support when they are allowed to respond freely without the counter-influence of variables such as high black percentages and thus a strong regional or community concern over race or high manufacturing employment.

The other extreme can be seen in the southwest coal counties where education, income, professionals, and numbers of blacks are at their lowest, but so was the Wallace support. The intervening variable in this instance was partisanship. These coal counties have a strong Democratic identification (in the genre of the national Democratic Party rather than in the conservative Southern Democratic tradition) and will vote Democratic without exception (unless the Democrats fail to have a candidate as they did in the 1973 gubernatorial election; this was the first non-Democratic victory in this area).

Still within the socio-economic characteristics, the manufacturing variable had the strongest and most consistently positive response to Wallace support (this can be seen in regions such as the Southsides and the East Central Piedmont; these areas were also influenced by a very strong regional concern over race). Even in areas of low black populations, such as west of the Ridge, the lower but still significant (15 percent or so) Wallace support could be traced to low education and income, and high manufacturing. Even west of the Ridge where the race issue has little saliency, Wallace still received between 10 and 20 percent of the vote. The exceptions were the coal counties with their exceptionally strong Democratic identification. The relationship between low education and income and high percentages of manufacturing and the Wallace

support can clearly be seen in the homogeneous Richmond precincts (the sixteenth and sixty-eighth precincts are excellent examples) and in the comparable precincts of northwest Henrico and "Southside" Chesterfield.

The next major demographic variable was race; with this variable, Democratic identification is intrinsic. Key (1949) declared that race was the most influential element of Southern politics. Race is also the key element in determining partisanship in Virginia. The Democratic Party mainly developed in the lowlands as the white supremacy party and was strongest in the areas of the greatest black populations; the Republican Party developed in the highlands where there were few blacks.

Generally, the Wallace vote did respond in a curvilinear fashion to the percentage of blacks in the regional analysis; the peak of the curve was at the point where 45 percent black population was reached--this was the point of the greatest Wallace support and immediately prior to the influence of a black majority and the diminishment of Wallace support.

On the precinct level the relationship generally followed a pattern which overall would be more negative due to the greater racial homogeneity on this level and the broader range of extremes and the greater intensification of the racial issue within these smaller units.

As mentioned earlier, the Democratic identification is intrinsic to race. Prior to the reality of black voting, the areas of the largest black populations had the strongest Democratic tendency (such as the Southern Tidewater and the Southsides). After black voting became a viable political element, the black electorate tended to support the Democratic Party; in the areas of black majorities (such as Southern Tidewater), this made the Democratic Party unbeatable. In the areas

of black near-majorities (such as Deep and Border Southside), the whites turned to the conservatism of the Republican Party because their interests were no longer met by the liberal Democratic Party (both on a state and national level); however, the identification did not change but merely the voting pattern. Thus the Democratic identification of white voters based on the Democratic Party as the white supremacy party relates to the Wallace support. The Democratic identification which is based on manufacturing also relates to the Wallace vote (the exceptions are again the coal counties) as can clearly be shown in areas of high manufacturing; this can be seen both on the regional (the Southsides and the East Central Piedmont) and precinct level (Southside Richmond and "Southside" Chesterfield).

The degree of rurality, as was mentioned in the conclusion of chapter two, and farmers (agriculture) did not relate as strongly as were anticipated. This is due to the fact that Virginia is essentially a rural state with several urbanized areas. With all of the regions predominantly rural, it would be difficult to determine if the Wallace vote was related to the rurality or not. The same situation occurred with the percentage of farmers and agriculture. Thus these variables failed to respond strongly or conclusively enough for any conclusions to be drawn.

The third, final, and perhaps most important consideration of this study was the regional or community political spirit. This again relates to the cultural approach to political behavior; this regional or community political spirit (depending on the unit of analysis, the county or the precinct) is the operationalization of the cultural milieu. This variable attempts to measure the importance and influence of history and

culture upon politics. This regional or community spirit can be many things. In Southside, Negrophobia is the greatest cultural influence of political behavior. Southside clung tenaciously to the white supremacy party until the Democratic Party no longer represented their interests. The perceived pro-segregation views of Republican Goldwater provided the impetus for this region to alter their political pattern in 1964. Despite large percentages of manufacturing employees and the appeal of economic liberalism to lower-SES voters, this region rejected this quality in the form of candidate Howell. Because of this Negrophobia, this region was unable to accept Howell's social liberalism.

The regional political spirit of the Northern Tidewater, particularly the Northern Neck has been the conservative tradition of what "Virginia" has meant in the past. The voting pattern of this area indicates an attempt to preserve this tradition.

The regional political spirit west of the Ridge is heavily partisan influenced. Many of the counties of the Trans-montane have very strong, nondeviating Democratic or Republican traditions; this is the influence which prevails in this area.

These regional political tendencies are so strong that Southside supports the most racially conservative candidate no matter what his partisan identification. The Northern Tidewater, despite some counties which have percentages of blacks comparable to some counties of Southside, does not give nearly as great a proportion of their vote to a candidate such as Wallace because this area is concerned with maintaining a Virginia political tradition of noblesse oblige and moderation. The regional political tendency in the form of partisanship is so strong west of the Ridge that Republican counties defeated Godwin in 1965 when

he ran as a Democrat but supported him in 1973 when he ran as a Republican and Democratic counties defeated Howell in 1971 because he ran as an Independent but supported him in 1973 because no candidate ran under the Democratic banner. This is the pervasive and undeniable influence of regional political tendency; it can indeed be termed the most influential political variable. It clearly demonstrates an aspect of political behavior which at times cannot be explained by demographic characteristics or party identification.

The community political spirit is more difficult to determine. Long-term political trends of precincts are difficult due to the continuous transitional nature of the urban setting. For example, precincts which were slums twenty years ago have in some instances been replaced by renovated, upper middle-class housing; the political pattern of this precinct obviously would not remain the same. The community political spirit is perhaps best operationalized through issue saliency. The patterns found in the urban setting are more intense on the precinct level but are equally influential as on the county basis.

The upper-SES precincts (the West End of Richmond and the comparable Henrico and Chesterfield suburban precincts) voted strongly economically conservative. The middle-SES (and predominantly white) areas such as Southside and the adjacent Chesterfield precincts are in the moderate tradition but gave Wallace significant support. The lower-SES white voters were the overwhelming supporters of Wallace both from precincts which were fairly exclusively white, such as parts of Southside, and in areas of great racial heterogeneity such as Northside and the Fan. These lower-SES white voters, and middle-SES white voters to a lesser extent, were caught up in this community concern over race and supported Wallace;

the bases of this concern have been pointed out at various points. These lower-SES white voters appear to follow in the economically liberal-socially conservative voting pattern of that group just as the upper-SES voters follow their economically conservative tradition.

There were areas of great overlap between the support Wallace and Howell received from lower-SES voters; the economic liberalism of both these candidates would appeal to this voting group. There were some areas (such as some precincts in Southside and the Fan) where Howell's support was much lower than would be anticipated or which diminished their support between 1969 and 1971 when the busing issue came to the fore along with greater visibility of Howell's liberal attitude toward social issues. These areas of low or reduced Howell support (among lower-SES voters) were the areas where this community political spirit became prominent.

The impact of this political spirit on the precinct level is not quite as intense as on the regional level but it is nonetheless influential. Just as the intensity of socio-economic variables and black and white voting patterns was considerably greater on the smaller, more homogeneous precinct level than on the regional level.

Thus the influence of all the variables of this study have been shown. The importance of viewing the political act within its historical and cultural milieu has been stressed. And the importance of a departure from viewing political behavior as being "determined" solely by demographic characteristics has been stressed. And finally, the importance of a nondemographic variable, the variable of political spirit has been demonstrated.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

County	Presidential Election of 1964			Gubernatorial Election of 1965				Presidential Election of 1968						
	%	Rep	Dem	Total	%	Rep	Dem	Other	Total	%	Rep	Dem	AJP	Total
Accomack	47.1	52.8		6,683	25.6	67.7	8.7		3,478	35.2	26.9	37.7		9,181
Albemarle	51.5	48.5		6,315	36.4	51.3	12.3		4,103	53.5	26.7	19.6		8,441
Alleghany	41.1	58.8		2,685	35.9	55.7	8.4		1,622	43.5	26.0	30.4		3,793
Amelia	60.2	39.5		2,239	10.0	40.1	49.9		1,562	33.9	32.8	32.9		2,528
Amherst	49.4	50.5		5,410	21.2	52.0	26.8		2,986	39.8	23.1	36.7		6,674
Appomattox	64.5	35.3		3,791	12.1	59.4	38.5		2,046	43.4	18.7	37.5		4,037
Arlington	37.7	61.7		54,363	51.1	43.7	5.2		25,601	45.9	42.6	11.0		61,326
Augusta	51.7	48.2		8,372	51.2	44.0	4.8		5,695	57.9	18.6	22.8		10,900
Bath	40.1	59.9		1,286	34.6	57.3	8.1		717	46.0	26.0	27.9		1,897
Bedford	48.1	51.5		7,914	33.3	45.2	21.5		4,541	35.8	20.1	42.3		7,840
Bland	45.7	54.2		1,570	40.7	53.8	5.5		1,007	50.4	30.1	19.4		1,862
Botetourt	46.9	53.1		4,476	50.7	42.4	6.9		2,697	50.5	24.8	24.6		5,140
Brunswick	57.6	42.4		4,446	19.5	25.3	55.2		2,656	22.1	37.1	40.6		5,147
Buchanan	33.0	66.8		7,124	34.5	61.5	4.0		4,517	37.7	51.0	10.9		9,816
Buckingham	56.6	43.2		2,733	13.9	68.7	17.4		1,475	32.1	30.7	37.0		3,204
Campbell	62.5	37.2		9,145	30.1	39.4	30.5		4,215	44.7	15.6	34.5		12,811
Caroline	36.0	63.6		3,243	14.5	53.6	31.9		1,557	26.3	48.9	24.5		4,426
Carroll	58.9	41.0		6,146	64.7	32.2	3.1		4,472	64.2	23.2	12.5		7,651
Charles City	24.1	75.9		1,348	11.5	78.0	10.5		767	16.3	74.3	9.0		1,960
Charlotte	62.1	37.5		3,178	13.4	37.3	49.3		1,773	24.4	24.5	50.7		4,265
Chesterfield	67.6	32.4		25,871	31.6	29.4	39.0		14,671	56.0	14.5	29.3		39,292
Clarke	48.4	51.5		2,206	28.3	67.6	4.1		900	42.6	29.0	28.1		2,644
Craig	38.3	61.7		1,244	38.9	58.7	2.4		821	46.2	33.3	20.3		1,258
Culpeper	48.4	51.5		3,665	26.0	68.4	5.7		2,127	47.5	26.4	25.9		4,694
Cumberland	55.6	44.1		1,977	9.3	50.0	40.7		1,183	34.7	40.2	24.8		2,432

County	% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total	
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
Dickenson	38.0	61.8	44.7	53.1	2.2	2,579	46.0	45.2	8.6	7,415								
Dinwiddie	48.9	50.9	11.0	54.3	34.7	2,419	27.6	29.5	42.7	5,257								
Essex	50.9	49.0	18.6	43.3	28.1	764	26.6	41.5	21.6	2,164								
Fairfax	38.7	61.2	53.2	43.2	3.6	39,293	49.0	38.2	12.6	117,319								
Fauquier	37.4	62.5	29.6	67.6	2.8	2,735	43.8	32.3	23.6	6,501								
Floyd	61.5	38.3	64.9	32.0	3.1	1,944	64.3	20.2	15.2	3,537								
Fluvanna	44.9	55.0	20.6	46.5	32.9	948	42.6	26.5	30.8	2,145								
Franklin	39.7	60.1	38.2	53.1	8.7	4,325	36.5	24.4	38.7	8,308								
Frederick	47.2	52.6	39.9	56.3	3.8	2,074	49.6	21.7	28.7	7,454								
Giles	37.8	60.6	43.4	51.7	4.9	3,104	43.4	32.6	21.9	6,277								
Gloucester	45.5	54.4	28.0	53.9	18.1	1,735	37.1	27.7	35.0	4,364								
Goochland	46.0	53.8	15.0	51.2	33.8	1,678	35.1	40.1	24.2	3,461								
Grayson	48.9	51.0	49.2	48.5	2.3	4,556	54.1	29.2	16.5	6,587								
Greene	58.1	41.7	48.1	39.7	12.2	769	55.3	16.5	28.0	1,549								
Greensville	49.7	50.1	38.2	28.3	33.8	3,769	16.7	43.2	39.7	3,165								
Halifax	63.9	35.8	27.5	45.5	27.0	3,467	28.9	24.2	46.5	9,102								
Hanover	62.9	37.0	30.8	40.8	28.4	4,012	50.0	19.2	30.7	10,847								
Henrico	69.6	30.4	38.1	35.9	26.0	23,144	62.5	15.7	21.7	54,726								
Henry	34.8	64.7	34.9	53.3	11.8	3,525	25.9	27.4	44.7	15,224								
Highland	51.7	48.1	51.3	44.3	4.4	742	57.9	26.6	15.5	1,069								
Isle of Wight	39.5	60.4	20.5	63.8	15.7	2,497	23.3	35.1	41.3	5,635								
James City	38.5	61.4	36.0	49.8	14.2	1,213	35.5	37.4	26.6	4,065								
King and Queen	46.9	52.8	14.5	52.4	33.1	626	27.4	52.5	29.6	2,073								
King George	37.2	62.8	30.0	64.2	5.8	927	37.8	33.3	28.8	2,195								
King William	53.9	45.8	17.6	54.8	27.6	1,149	43.0	31.4	25.3	2,431								
Lancaster	57.1	42.8	31.8	48.7	19.5	1,414	44.9	31.1	24.0	3,650								
Lee	40.1	59.7	29.3	67.6	3.1	3,820	47.3	43.7	8.8	9,399								
Loudoun	37.7	62.2	37.0	58.4	4.6	3,162	45.9	32.7	21.2	9,980								
Louisa	44.1	55.8	17.1	49.5	33.4	1,797	38.1	32.5	29.0	3,964								
Lunenburg	62.0	37.9	8.2	40.6	51.2	2,447	29.4	29.4	40.6	4,012								

County	% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total	
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
Madison	55.1	44.8	1,923	37.7	50.2	12.1	997	48.7	19.6	31.3	2,439							
Mathews	50.3	49.7	2,286	33.7	54.5	11.8	1,432	47.1	24.9	27.8	2,777							
Mecklenburg	60.5	39.4	8,227	18.0	39.0	43.0	3,687	29.0	28.1	42.4	9,478							
Middlesex	51.1	48.8	1,995	18.4	51.7	29.9	1,047	39.6	28.2	32.1	2,042							
Montgomery	54.2	45.6	8,489	56.6	38.1	5.3	5,770	61.5	23.4	14.8	11,547							
Nansemond	34.9	64.8	7,415	14.6	71.9	13.5	1,176	20.9	41.6	37.1	10,033							
Nelson	35.2	64.5	2,534	19.3	67.4	13.3	1,176	33.0	32.7	33.9	3,426							
New Kent	49.6	50.1	1,365	24.8	41.5	33.7	757	27.6	40.2	32.0	1,904							
Northampton	51.1	48.9	3,103	29.1	56.6	14.3	1,692	35.5	35.7	28.4	3,974							
Northumberland	58.9	40.9	2,418	34.4	47.9	17.7	1,147	41.2	30.8	27.7	3,492							
Nottoway	52.3	47.5	4,499	6.7	39.9	53.4	2,641	33.4	31.7	34.6	4,830							
Orange	51.3	48.5	3,107	30.0	54.6	15.4	1,634	47.2	24.0	28.7	3,661							
Page	51.7	48.1	5,419	51.3	45.5	3.2	4,382	53.9	31.3	14.6	6,800							
Patrick	38.9	61.6	3,776	35.4	60.2	4.4	1,554	41.5	20.9	37.4	5,275							
Pittsylvania	57.5	42.3	12,373	20.2	45.7	34.1	5,109	25.6	27.3	46.8	19,890							
Powhatan	54.9	45.0	2,152	9.6	41.7	48.7	1,308	27.1	37.7	34.9	2,663							
Prince Edward	62.6	37.2	4,064	9.1	42.0	48.9	2,581	39.8	33.6	26.2	4,666							
Prince George	54.3	45.6	3,295	21.9	52.3	25.8	2,237	32.7	26.7	40.3	4,761							
Prince William	37.3	62.6	8,963	35.0	61.4	3.6	3,894	42.5	29.8	27.6	18,686							
Pulaski	46.1	53.8	6,726	44.1	49.3	6.6	3,874	53.3	30.2	16.3								
Rappahannock	39.8	59.9	1,127	31.8	65.3	2.9	544	43.6	28.9	27.3	1,363							
Richmond	58.5	41.3	1,540	29.6	49.2	21.2	666	48.9	23.7	27.2	2,069							
Roanoke	54.8	45.1	19,536	63.6	31.4	5.0	11,064	58.9	18.5	22.5	21,124							
Rockbridge	45.8	54.1	4,806	47.5	43.8	8.7	2,756	56.8	21.1	22.0	4,014							
Rockingham	49.7	50.3	8,363	54.7	40.8	4.5	5,655	66.4	18.0	15.5	11,715							
Russell	40.9	58.8	7,367	51.9	45.2	2.9	3,980	43.5	40.1	15.4	8,872							
Scott	48.9	50.9	9,269	59.4	35.4	3.2	5,105	53.5	31.5	14.8	9,984							
Shenandoah	55.5	44.4	7,168	58.3	38.2	3.5	4,970	62.9	19.1	18.0	8,681							
Smyth	48.2	51.7	7,952	55.8	41.7	2.5	4,422	54.3	27.0	18.5	9,751							
Southampton	37.2	62.7	4,090	10.2	45.1	44.7	2,846	26.1	34.3	39.3	5,262							

County	% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total	
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
Cities																		
Spotsylvania	37.5	62.3	3,367	36.8	60.7	12.5	2,185	34.0	33.4	32.3	4,926							
Stafford	43.3	56.6	4,364	36.4	56.0	7.6	3,071	39.7	26.2	33.9	6,482							
Surry	46.9	52.9	2,140	35.4	27.6	37.0	1,710	22.1	47.6	29.9	2,366							
Sussex	55.4	44.5	2,775	22.0	35.1	42.8	2,654	29.1	40.6	29.9	3,764							
Tazewell	34.4	64.5	9,417	42.6	54.1	3.3	5,057	39.1	41.8	17.8	11,338							
Warren	43.0	56.8	4,390	35.6	58.8	5.6	2,535	43.4	28.6	27.9	5,296							
Washington	44.9	55.0	9,226	50.4	48.0	1.6	5,502	51.2	24.9	23.7	13,029							
Westmoreland	57.3	52.5	2,499	33.1	53.7	13.2	948	40.0	33.0	26.9	3,506							
Wise	31.4	68.5	10,539	40.5	58.8	0.7	5,399	39.7	47.1	13.0	12,606							
Wythe	50.5	49.1	5,863	46.0	48.2	5.6	4,005	52.2	25.3	19.8	6,963							
York	46.8	53.0	6,389	42.1	46.9	11.0	3,061	36.9	26.1	36.6	9,088							
Cities																		
Alexandria	34.4	65.5	25,683	49.0	47.2	3.8	10,752	41.7	45.1	13.0	31,816							
Bristol	34.6	65.2	3,723	37.7	61.5	0.8	1,881	44.1	35.0	20.8	4,377							
Bedford								44.0	23.9	28.5	2,380							
Buena Vista	39.8	59.9	1,153	35.5	57.4	7.1	873	49.0	23.3	27.5	1,660							
Charlottesville	45.5	53.6	9,704	37.2	50.4	12.4	5,371	49.4	33.8	15.7	11,335							
Chesapeake	48.5	51.2	18,621	19.8	47.8	32.4	10,715	25.2	27.6	44.8	24,760							
Clifton Forge	40.4	59.6	2,192	35.7	56.2	8.1	1,353	43.6	34.6	21.8	2,122							
Colonial Heights	66.9	33.1	3,620	23.7	42.8	33.5	2,545	49.0	12.0	38.9	5,413							
Covington	35.8	64.1	3,206	32.3	61.4	6.3	2,072	43.1	33.2	23.5	3,595							
Danville	62.1	35.7	12,724	23.2	45.1	31.7	5,368	40.3	26.6	31.9	16,874							
Emporia								37.1	30.0	32.7	2,191							
Fairfax	40.4	59.5	4,766	46.9	49.1	4.0	2,050	48.7	35.4	15.8	6,084							
Falls Church	35.9	64.0	3,707	50.9	45.7	3.4	2,143	45.8	42.4	11.5	4,382							
Franklin	38.4	61.6	2,041	17.4	59.4	22.2	1,410	42.4	35.1	22.7	2,256							
Fredericksburg	38.5	61.4	3,928	35.7	58.9	5.4	2,691	42.3	40.2	17.3	5,068							
Galax	49.2	50.6	1,416	46.4	49.6	4.0	1,277	54.4	32.4	13.2	2,309							
Hampton	39.2	60.8	22,288	40.1	51.8	8.1	10,046	32.3	34.7	32.8	32,606							
Harrisonburg	50.7	49.2	3,590	51.2	46.1	2.7	2,432	65.7	23.8	10.4	4,352							

Cities	% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total		% Rep		% Dem		Total	
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
Hopewell	55.9	43.9	5,691	27.9	57.0	15.1	3,971	43.6	23.3	31.0	6,743							
Lexington								56.1	35.2	8.5	2,085							
Lynchburg	59.7	40.1	16,834	38.8	43.8	17.4	8,821	54.3	23.5	19.9	18,299							
Martinsville	37.4	61.0	4,824	38.5	52.1	9.4	3,034	36.0	37.5	25.5	7,276							
Newport News	40.9	59.1	25,894	34.1	56.3	9.6	12,092	34.5	36.1	29.0	37,069							
Norfolk	35.8	62.8	51,546	31.1	52.7	16.2	23,547	33.9	43.3	22.0	65,829							
Norton	31.1	68.9	1,196	50.5	48.8	0.7	703	39.1	43.8	17.0	1,267							
Petersburg	41.8	58.1	7,775	18.9	58.7	22.4	4,751	31.1	49.4	19.3	11,169							
Portsmouth	34.3	65.5	24,544	22.1	60.3	17.6	11,954	25.2	42.1	32.4	37,381							
Radford	44.8	55.1	3,358	48.4	47.4	4.2	2,756	55.4	32.2	12.3	3,749							
Richmond	43.2	56.7	62,890	27.0	55.3	17.7	32,623	39.6	49.3	11.0	66,668							
Roanoke	46.2	53.7	28,496	59.3	35.1	5.6	16,766	51.2	30.9	17.6	30,008							
South Boston	65.4	34.5	1,843	30.9	46.8	22.3	1,046	50.2	24.0	25.6	2,587							
Salem								57.8	20.0	22.0	6,846							
Staunton	52.3	47.6	5,680	44.2	50.5	5.3	4,082	61.4	23.9	14.6	7,221							
Suffolk	48.1	51.9	3,044	18.7	71.1	10.2	2,045	37.9	31.0	30.9	3,365							
Virginia Beach	44.9	55.0	23,442	32.5	54.4	13.1	11,435	43.2	26.8	29.0	37,742							
Waynesboro	46.5	52.3	4,531	51.5	43.8	4.7	2,911	61.4	26.9	11.4	5,378							
Williamsburg	43.3	55.9	2,093	45.8	45.4	8.8	1,055	46.7	40.1	10.0	2,474							
Winchester	49.1	50.8	4,437	36.8	59.9	3.3	1,836	55.8	28.1	15.9	4,833							

TABLE II
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION OF 1969

County	Rep	Dem	Total
Accomack	48.3	48.5	6,607
Albemarle	48.1	50.2	6,245
Alleghany	51.4	45.9	2,554
Amelia	41.0	49.8	1,689
Amherst	46.1	49.7	4,553
Appomattox	37.1	59.5	2,887
Arlington	50.5	46.9	36,461
Augusta	67.3	21.9	7,422
Bath	47.3	52.0	1,157
Bedford	48.5	41.6	4,652
Bland	51.8	47.6	1,475
Botetourt	58.3	40.8	3,851
Brunswick	38.6	53.5	3,320
Buchanan	43.8	54.2	7,719
Buckingham	29.1	52.9	2,495
Campbell	53.9	37.6	6,479
Caroline	39.3	58.7	2,607
Carroll	65.6	33.6	5,912
Charles City	26.8	71.9	1,267
Charlotte	41.2	54.6	2,397
Chesterfield	67.5	30.1	25,587
Clarke	46.3	53.2	1,843
Craig	46.8	52.9	1,026
Culpeper	50.3	47.9	3,263
Cumberland	34.5	62.3	1,884
Dickenson	51.5	47.9	6,552
Dinwiddie	34.5	61.1	3,555
Essex	38.8	59.1	1,431
Fairfax	55.0	44.0	69,011
Fauquier	48.9	50.1	4,800
Floyd	67.2	32.5	2,393
Fluvanna	52.2	44.8	1,187
Franklin	40.5	58.0	4,979
Frederick	65.6	33.2	5,416
Giles	42.5	55.5	4,789

County	Rep	Dem	Total
Gloucester	52.3	45.2	3,059
Goochland	38.4	59.2	2,666
Grayson	54.6	45.1	5,418
Greene	59.9	39.0	1,167
Greensville	39.4	56.8	2,039
Halifax	45.4	52.5	5,203
Hanover	61.9	35.3	7,424
Henrico	65.8	32.1	39,190
Henry	45.0	53.6	6,979
Highland	62.1	37.5	802
Isle of Wight	56.1	40.2	3,919
James City	48.5	49.0	2,919
King and Queen	38.2	58.8	1,302
King George	51.9	47.3	1,485
King William	46.4	51.3	1,907
Lancaster	49.8	48.8	2,773
Lee	46.1	53.0	8,398
Loudoun	46.5	52.8	6,862
Louisa	49.4	47.8	2,636
Lunenburg	47.1	44.6	2,590
Madison	60.8	37.9	1,914
Mathews	58.7	39.9	1,965
Mecklenburg	40.9	55.2	6,062
Middlesex	54.0	43.3	1,544
Montgomery	61.6	38.0	8,293
Nansemond	48.7	48.6	6,344
Nelson	38.1	59.6	1,873
New Kent	47.1	48.8	1,214
Northampton	46.9	52.0	2,965
Northumberland	53.7	45.3	2,182
Nottoway	46.2	50.1	3,354
Orange	57.4	41.1	2,664
Page	53.4	45.9	5,020
Patrick	46.4	52.3	3,788
Pittsylvania	43.9	54.7	9,602
Powhatan	41.9	51.5	2,176
Prince Edward	48.2	49.8	3,696
Prince George	46.7	50.4	2,677
Prince William	52.7	46.0	11,403
Pulaski	50.9	48.6	6,996
Rappahannock	46.0	53.0	1,297
Richmond	59.1	39.8	1,405
Roanoke	64.1	34.7	18,908
Rockbridge	59.5	39.3	2,435
Rockingham	67.9	31.5	8,070

County	Rep	Dem	Total
Russell	47.8	50.4	6,827
Scott	54.2	44.7	7,140
Shenandoah	66.2	33.4	6,840
Smyth	58.2	41.3	7,233
Southampton	40.6	57.1	3,435
Spotsylvania	41.6	53.6	4,014
Stafford	51.2	48.1	4,598
Surry	33.7	64.3	1,649
Sussex	53.4	43.0	2,953
Tazewell	45.6	52.9	7,917
Warren	50.8	47.7	4,141
Washington	52.7	46.6	8,873
Westmoreland	49.5	49.6	2,095
Wise	46.1	53.6	11,160
Wythe	51.8	45.9	5,425
York	55.6	42.1	6,035
Alexandria	50.5	48.3	17,788
Bedford	43.6	48.3	1,579
Bristol	38.7	60.9	2,875
Buena Vista	52.8	46.0	1,204
Charlottesville	44.1	54.7	8,699
Chesapeake	47.5	47.9	17,164
Clifton Forge	49.4	48.5	1,486
Colonial Heights	53.9	43.5	3,571
Covington	48.0	51.1	2,563
Danville	46.1	52.3	10,930
Emporia	46.0	51.3	1,551
Fairfax	51.7	46.4	3,622
Falls Church	49.2	50.0	2,787
Franklin	52.4	46.4	1,551
Fredericksburg	42.6	56.8	4,103
Galax	50.6	48.8	1,865
Hampton	53.9	44.8	19,954
Harrisonburg	61.5	38.1	3,280
Hopewell	49.6	42.7	4,460
Lexington	58.1	41.3	1,406
Lynchburg	54.5	39.1	10,448
Martinsville	43.0	56.2	4,419
Newport News	51.0	47.1	22,876
Norfolk	45.1	50.3	44,988
Norton	47.7	51.8	999
Petersburg	43.6	54.0	7,214
Portsmouth	40.6	58.1	23,731

<u>City</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Total</u>
Radford	53.8	45.9	3,127
Richmond	59.1	39.3	46,724
Roanoke	56.8	42.3	23,320
Salem	64.7	34.8	5,190
South Boston	50.7	48.8	1,833
Staunton	61.4	38.2	5,368
Suffolk	49.2	48.9	2,406
Virginia Beach	56.4	40.9	24,988
Waynesboro	62.4	36.5	4,346
Williamsburg	46.2	50.7	1,742
Winchester	58.9	40.5	3,251

MAP 1-A

REGIONS OF VIRGINIA



A	The Northern Neck	J	Northwest Piedmont
B	The Eastern Shore	K	"Mountain Piedmont"
C	The Middle Peninsula	L	Northern Valley
D	The Lower Peninsula	M, N	Central Valley
E	The Southern Tidewater	P, Q	Southwest Valley
F	Deep Southside	R	Coal Counties
G	Far Southside	S	Northern Virginia
H	Border Southside	T	Richmond Metropolitan Area
I	East Central Piedmont	U	Hampton Roads

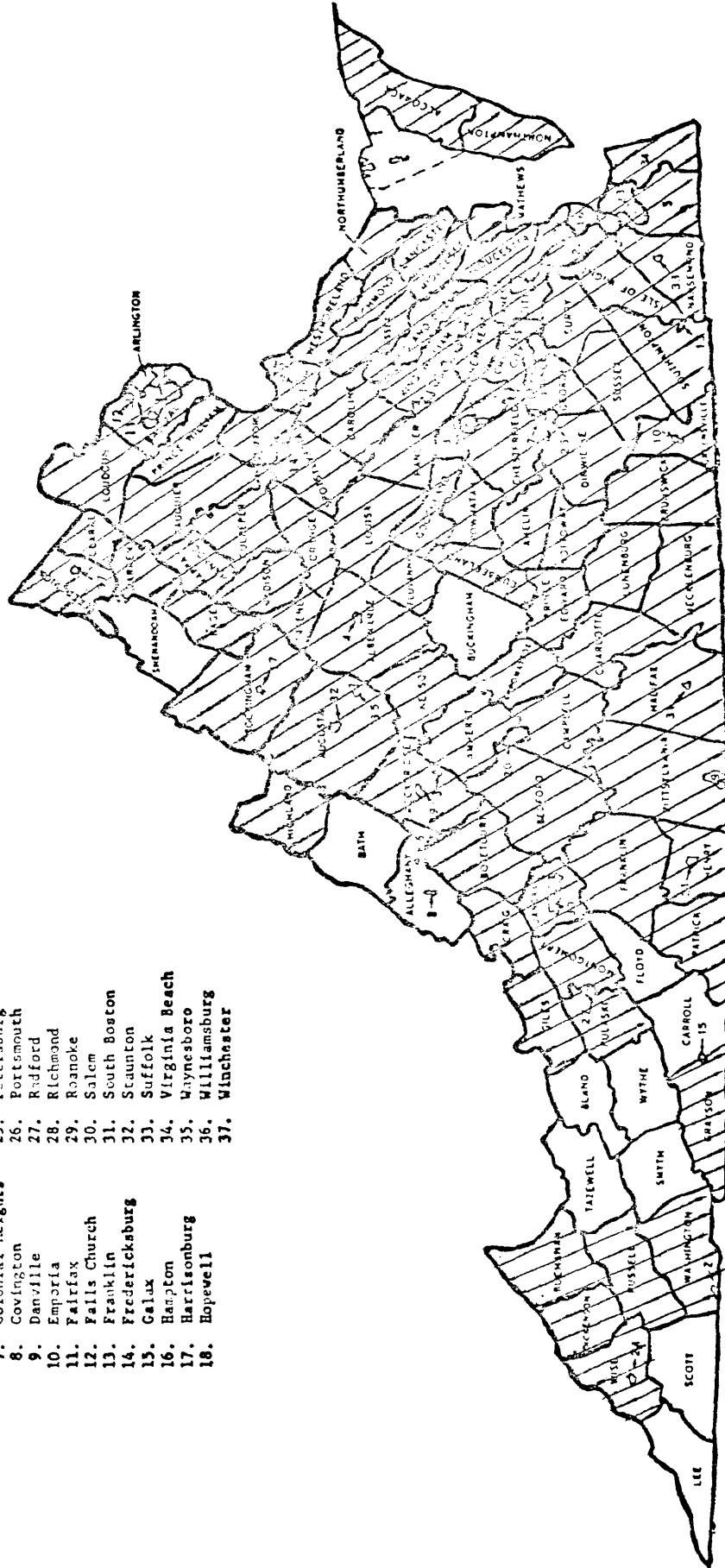
MAP 2-B

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1924

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |

-  Democratic
-  Republican




MAP 2-C

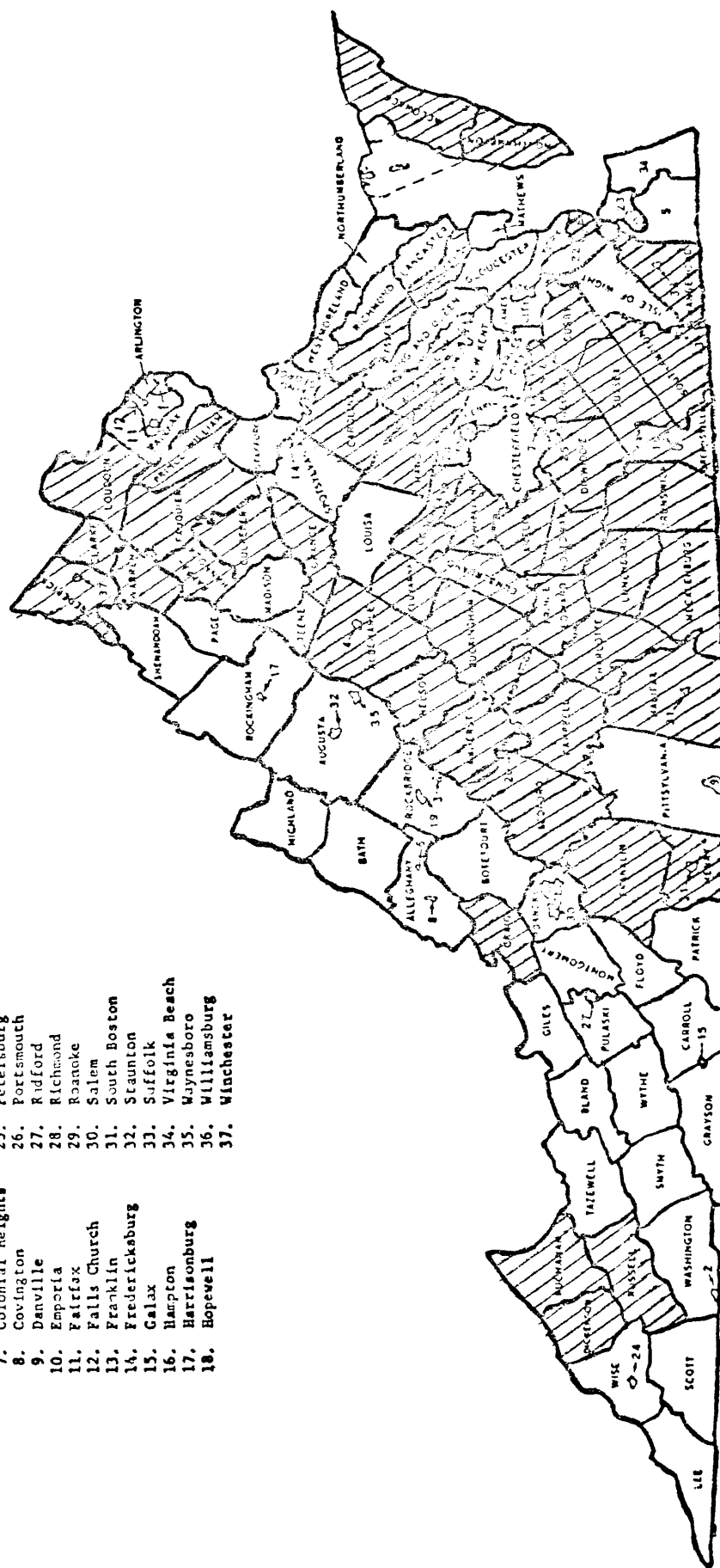
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1928

- ## INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1. | Alexandria | 19. | Lexington |
| 2. | Bristol | 20. | Lynchburg |
| 3. | Buena Vista | 21. | Martinsville |
| 4. | Charlottesville | 22. | Newport News |
| 5. | Chesapeake | 23. | Norfolk |
| 6. | Clifton Forge | 24. | Norton |
| 7. | Colonial Heights | 25. | Petersburg |
| 8. | Covington | 26. | Portsmouth |
| 9. | Danville | 27. | Ridford |
| 10. | Emporia | 28. | Richmond |
| 11. | Fairfax | 29. | Roanoke |
| 12. | Falls Church | 30. | Salem |
| 13. | Franklin | 31. | South Boston |
| 14. | Fredericksburg | 32. | Staunton |
| 15. | Galax | 33. | Suffolk |
| 16. | Hampton | 34. | Virginia Beach |
| 17. | Harrisonburg | 35. | Waynesboro |
| 18. | Hopewell | 36. | Williamsburg |
| | | 37. | Winchester |

 Democratic

Republican





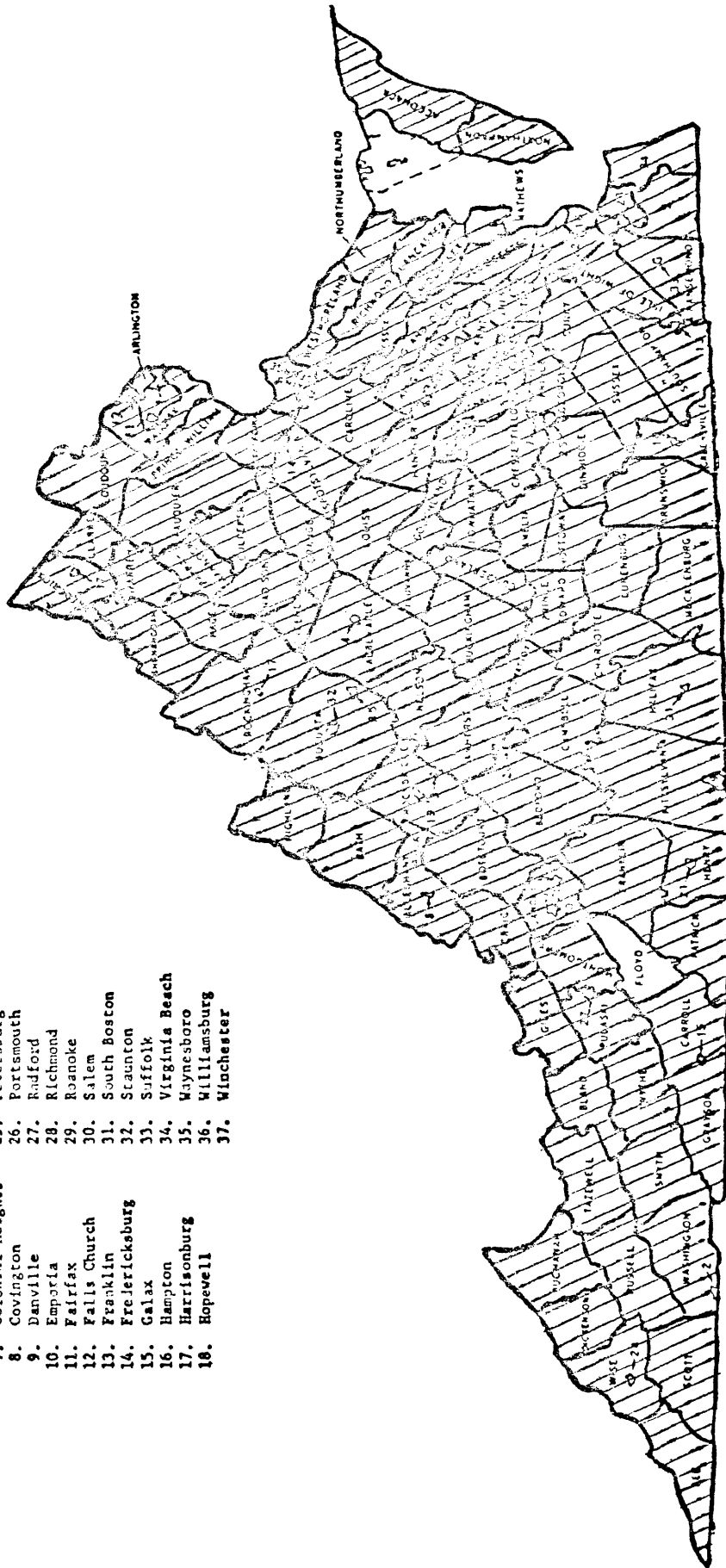
MAP 2-D

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1932

INDEPENDENT CITIES

1. Alexandria
2. Bristol
3. Buena Vista
4. Charlottesville
5. Chesapeake
6. Clifton Forge
7. Colonial Heights
8. Covington
9. Danville
10. Emporia
11. Fairfax
12. Falls Church
13. Franklin
14. Fredericksburg
15. Galax
16. Hampton
17. Harrisonburg
18. Hopewell
19. Lexington
20. Lynchburg
21. Martinsville
22. Newport News
23. Norfolk
24. Norton
25. Petersburg
26. Portsmouth
27. Radford
28. Richmond
29. Roanoke
30. Salem
31. South Boston
32. Staunton
33. Suffolk
34. Virginia Beach
35. Waynesboro
36. Williamsburg
37. Winchester

 Democratic
 Republican





MAP 2-F

7

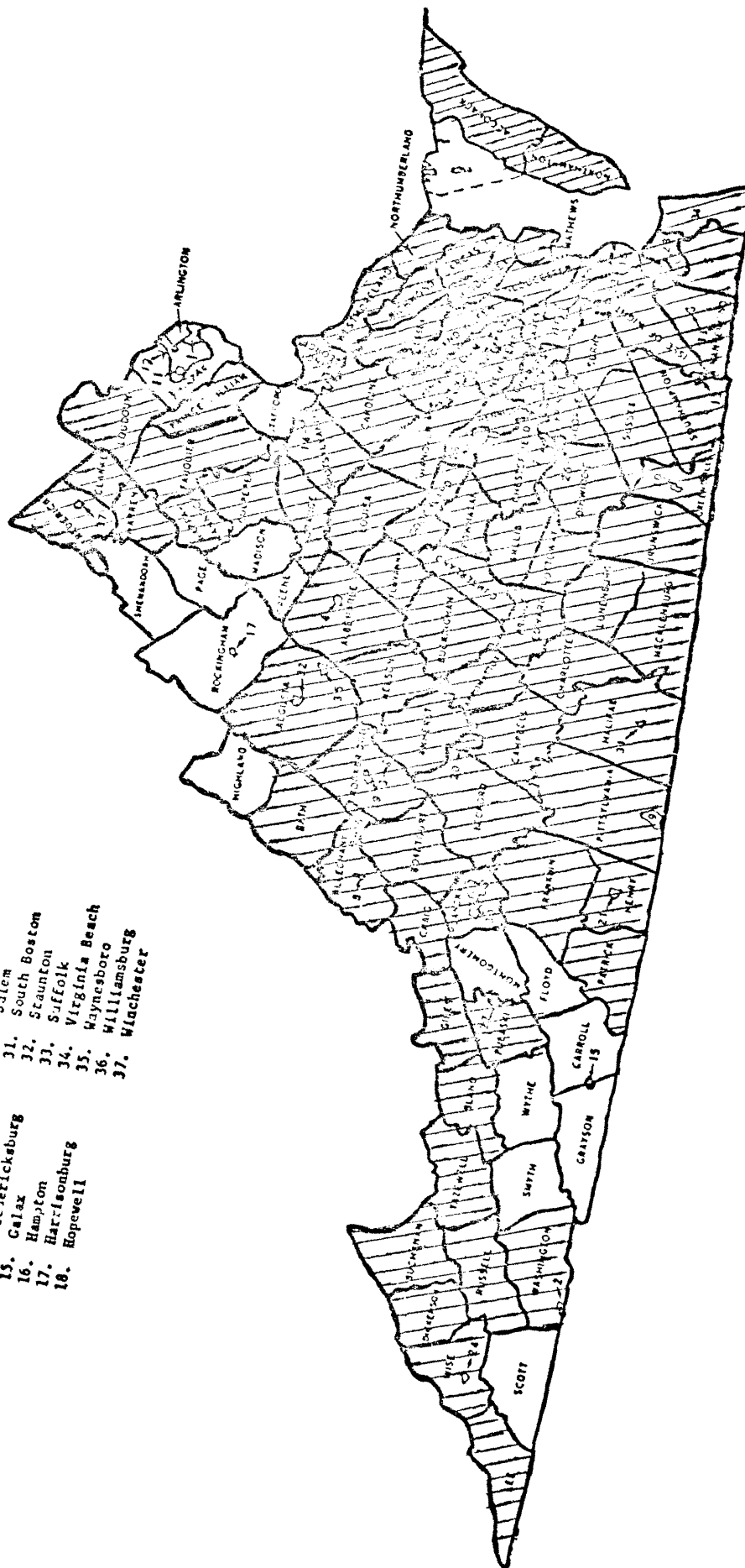
- INDEPENDENT CITIES**



MAP 2-G
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1944




 Democratic
 Republican

- INDEPENDENT CITIES**
- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Frederickburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



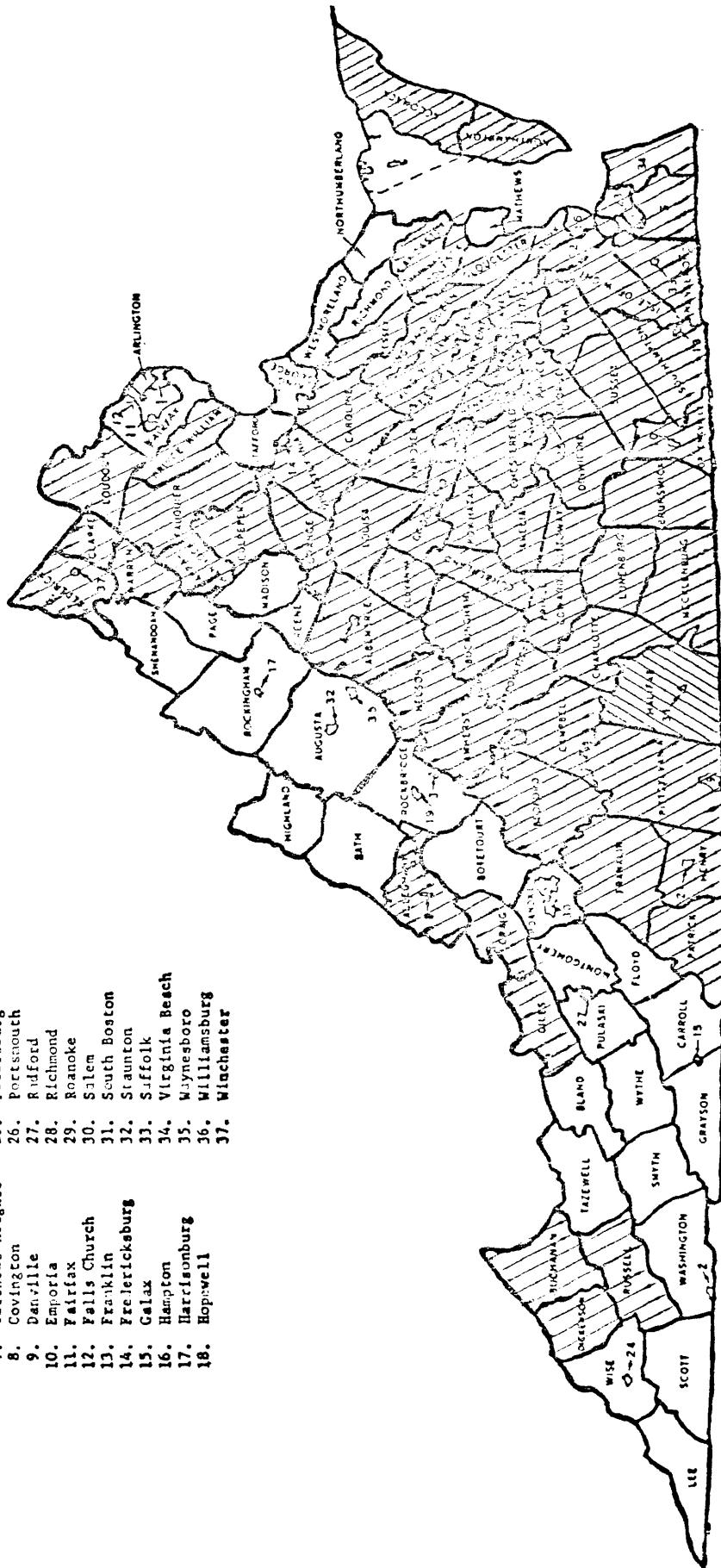
MAP 2-H

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1948

- | | |
|---|----------------|
|  | Democratic |
|  | Republican |
|  | States' Rights |

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



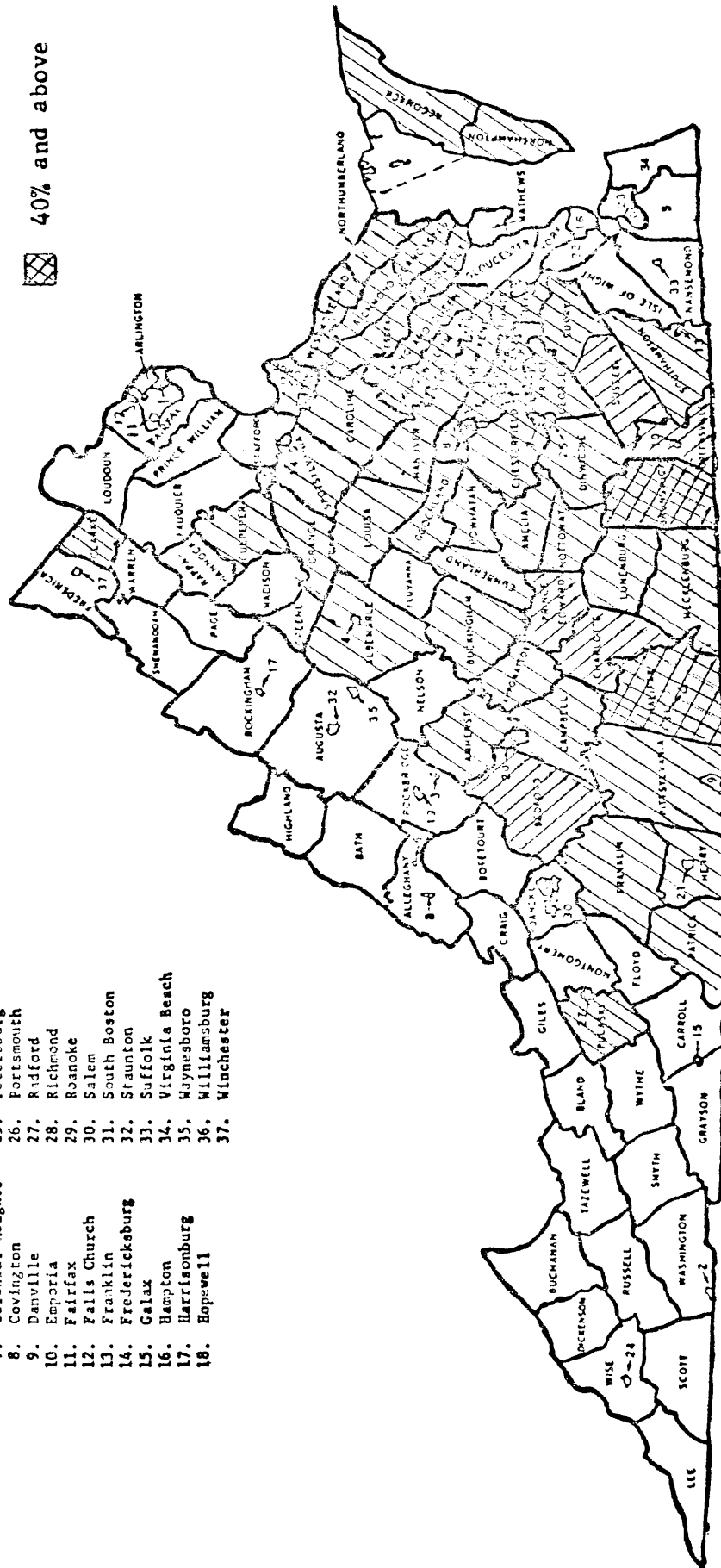
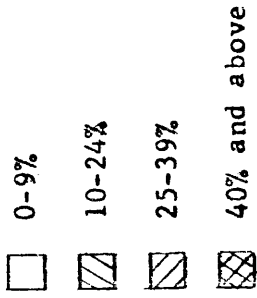
MAP 2-I

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1948

PERCENT FOR THURMOND

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Haxton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1956

INDEPENDENT CITIES

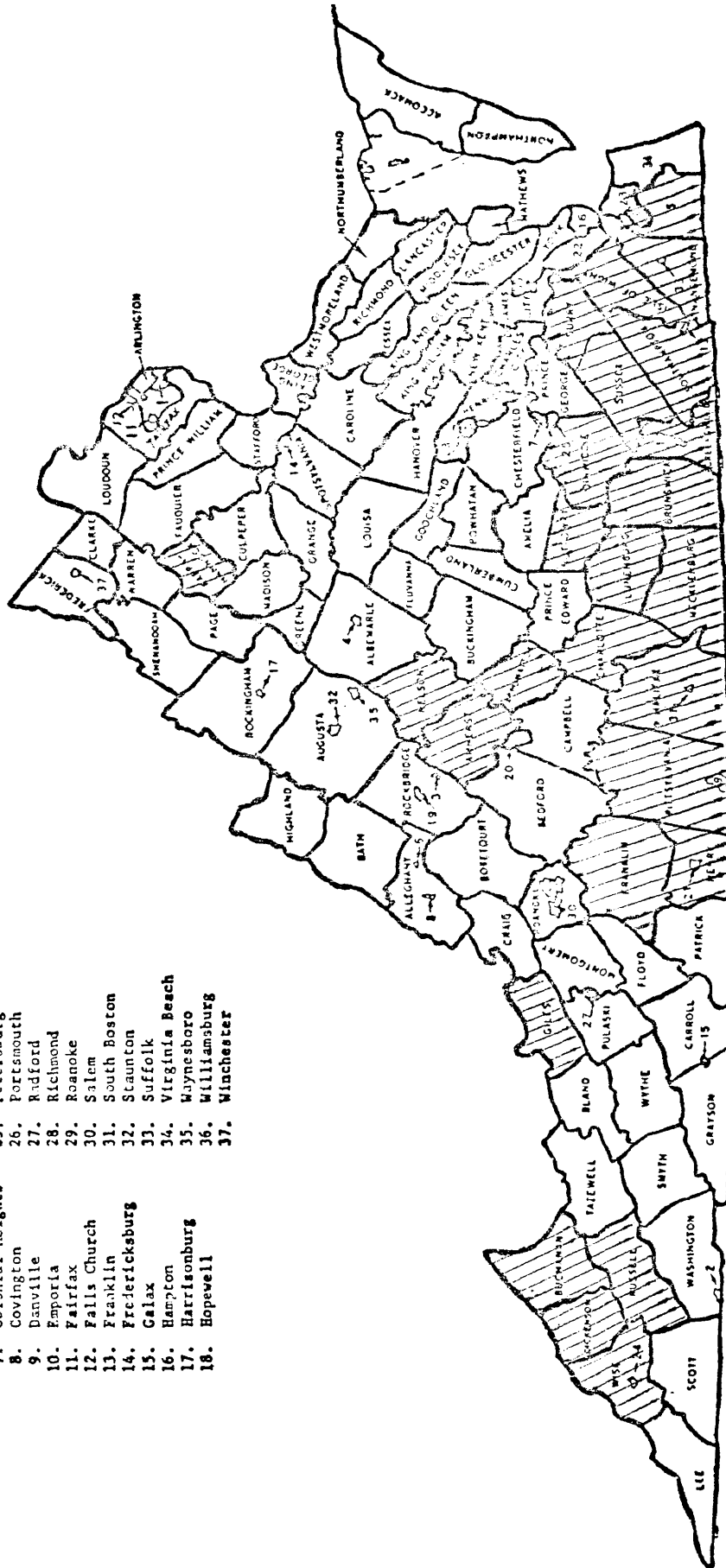
- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |

Democratic

Democratic

Republican

Republican



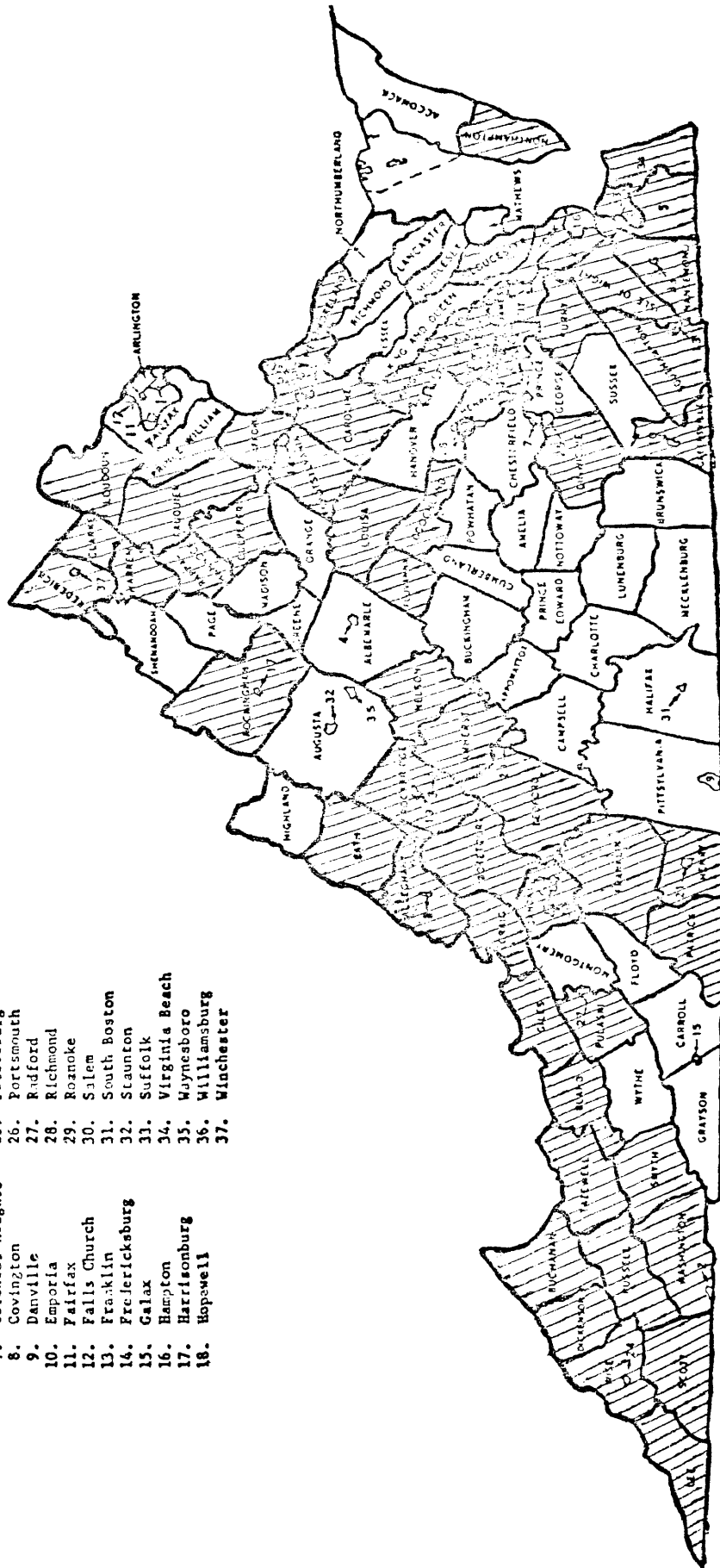
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1964

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
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| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |

Democratic

Republican



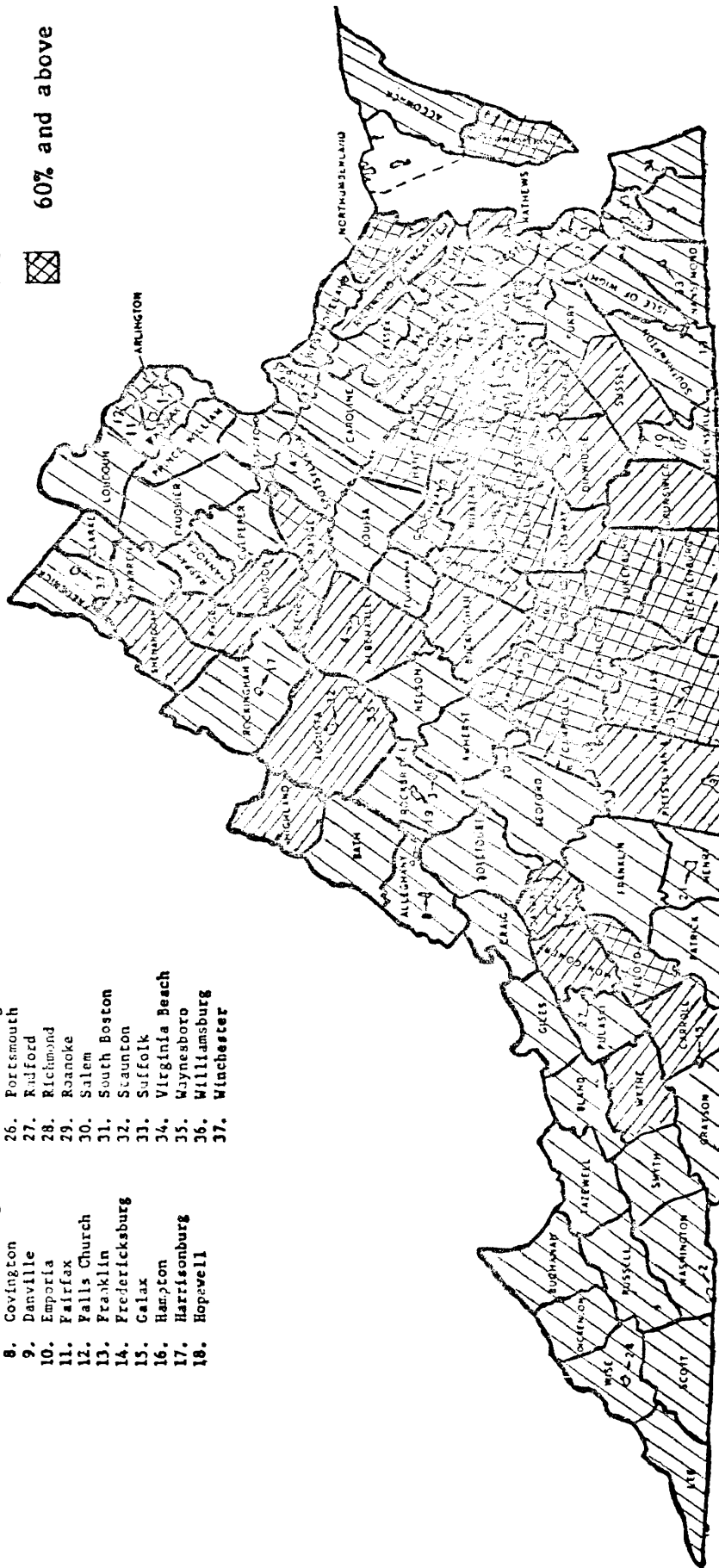
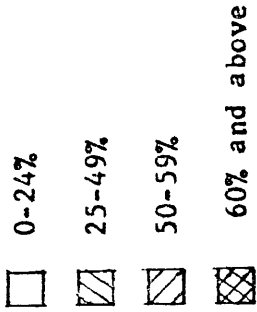
MAP 2-N

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1964

PERCENT FOR GOLDWATER

INDEPENDENT CITIES

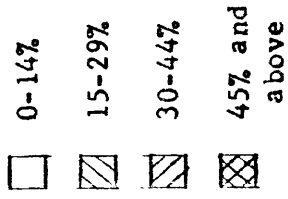
- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



MAP 2-P

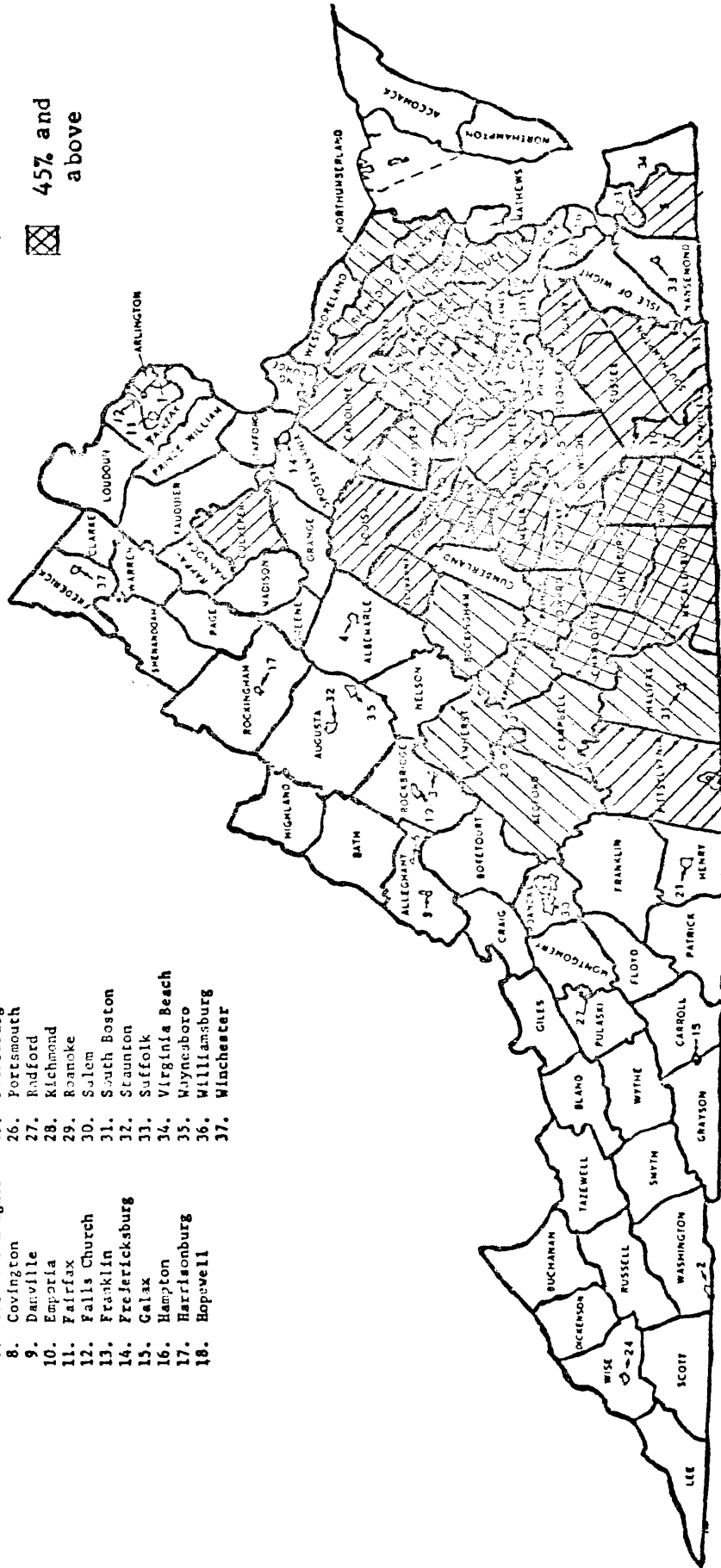
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, 1965

PERCENT FOR STORY






INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



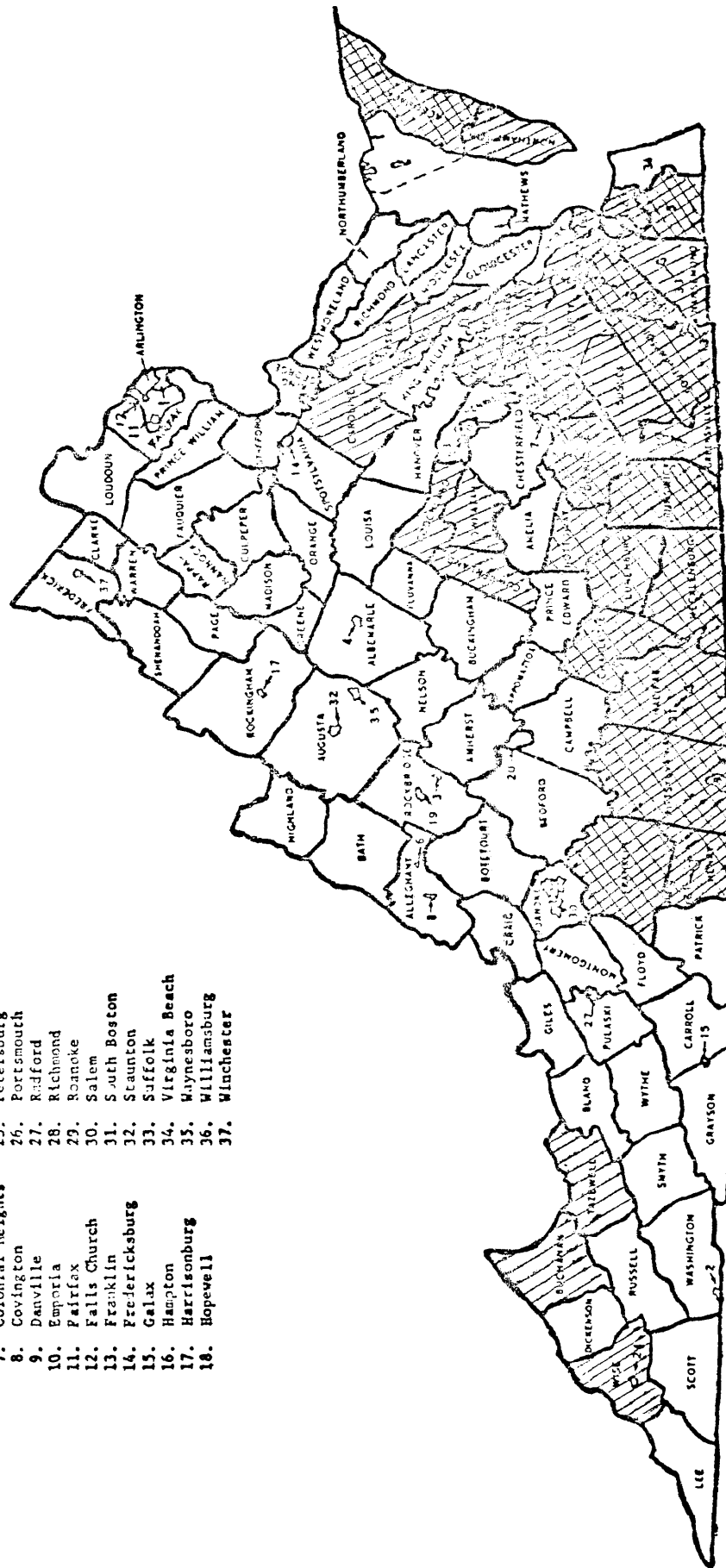
MAP 2-Q

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1968

 AIP
 Democratic
 Republican

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Waynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |



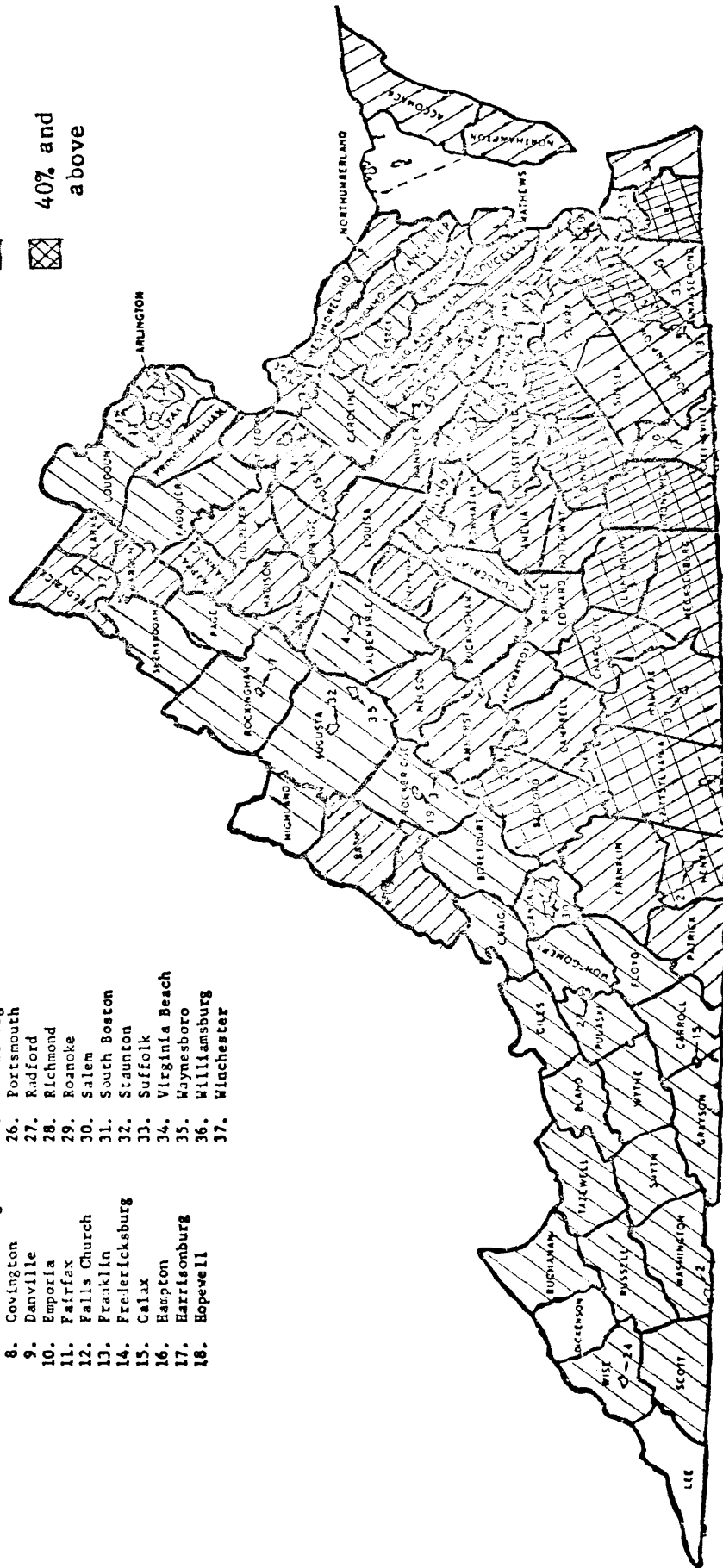
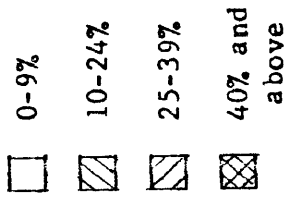
MAP 2-R

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1968

PERCENT FOR WALLACE

INDEPENDENT CITIES

1. Alexandria
2. Bristol
3. Buena Vista
4. Charlottesville
5. Chesapeake
6. Clifton Forge
7. Colonial Heights
8. Covington
9. Danville
10. Emporia
11. Fairfax
12. Falls Church
13. Franklin
14. Fredericksburg
15. Galix
16. Hampton
17. Harrisonburg
18. Hopewell
19. Lexington
20. Lynchburg
21. Martinsville
22. Newport News
23. Norfolk
24. Norton
25. Petersburg
26. Portsmouth
27. Radford
28. Richmond
29. Roanoke
30. Salem
31. South Boston
32. Staunton
33. Suffolk
34. Virginia Beach
35. Waynesboro
36. Williamsburg
37. Winchester



MAP 2-S

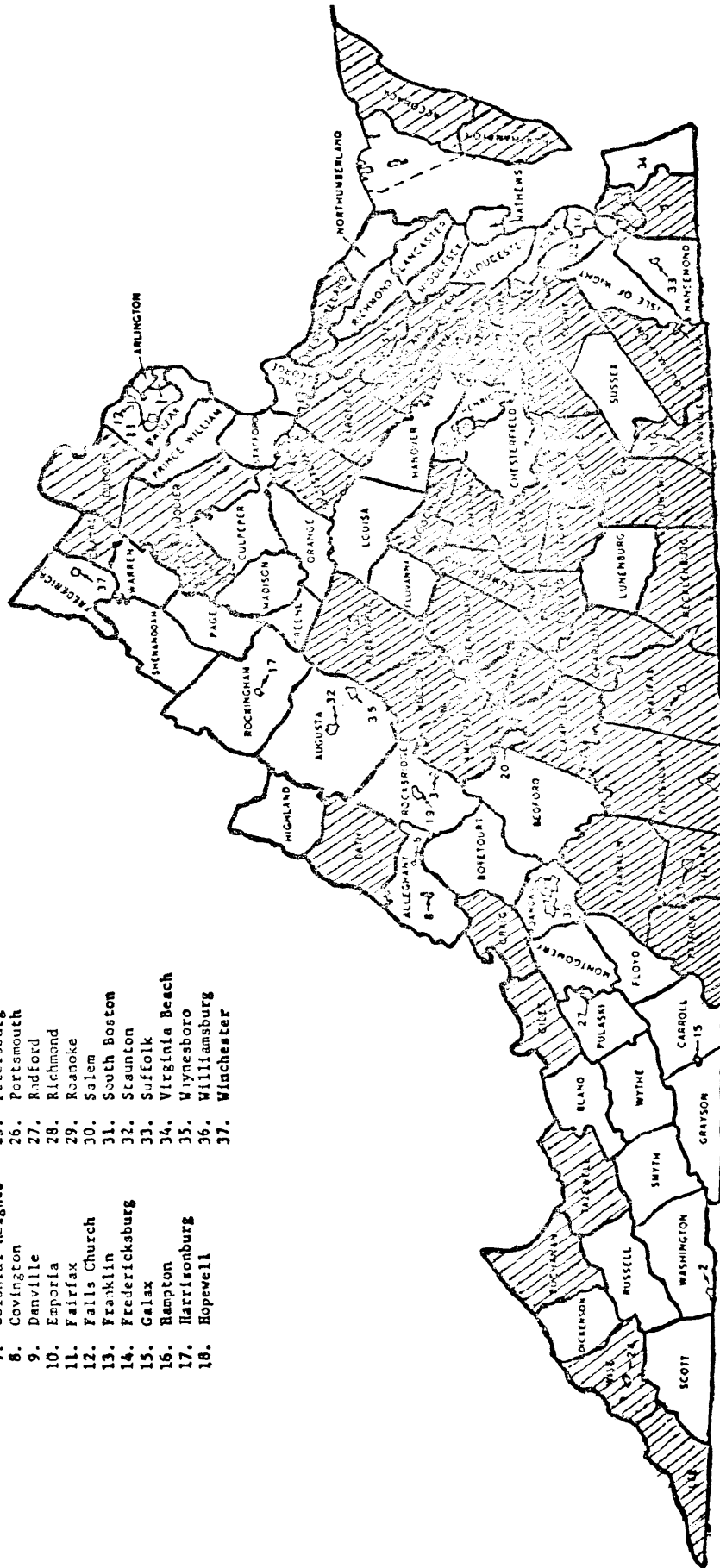
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, 1969

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alexandria | 19. Lexington |
| 2. Bristol | 20. Lynchburg |
| 3. Buena Vista | 21. Martinsville |
| 4. Charlottesville | 22. Newport News |
| 5. Chesapeake | 23. Norfolk |
| 6. Clifton Forge | 24. Norton |
| 7. Colonial Heights | 25. Petersburg |
| 8. Covington | 26. Portsmouth |
| 9. Danville | 27. Radford |
| 10. Emporia | 28. Richmond |
| 11. Fairfax | 29. Roanoke |
| 12. Falls Church | 30. Salem |
| 13. Franklin | 31. South Boston |
| 14. Fredericksburg | 32. Staunton |
| 15. Galax | 33. Suffolk |
| 16. Hampton | 34. Virginia Beach |
| 17. Harrisonburg | 35. Weynesboro |
| 18. Hopewell | 36. Williamsburg |
| | 37. Winchester |

 Democratic

Republican



MAP 2-V

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1972

INDEPENDENT CITIES

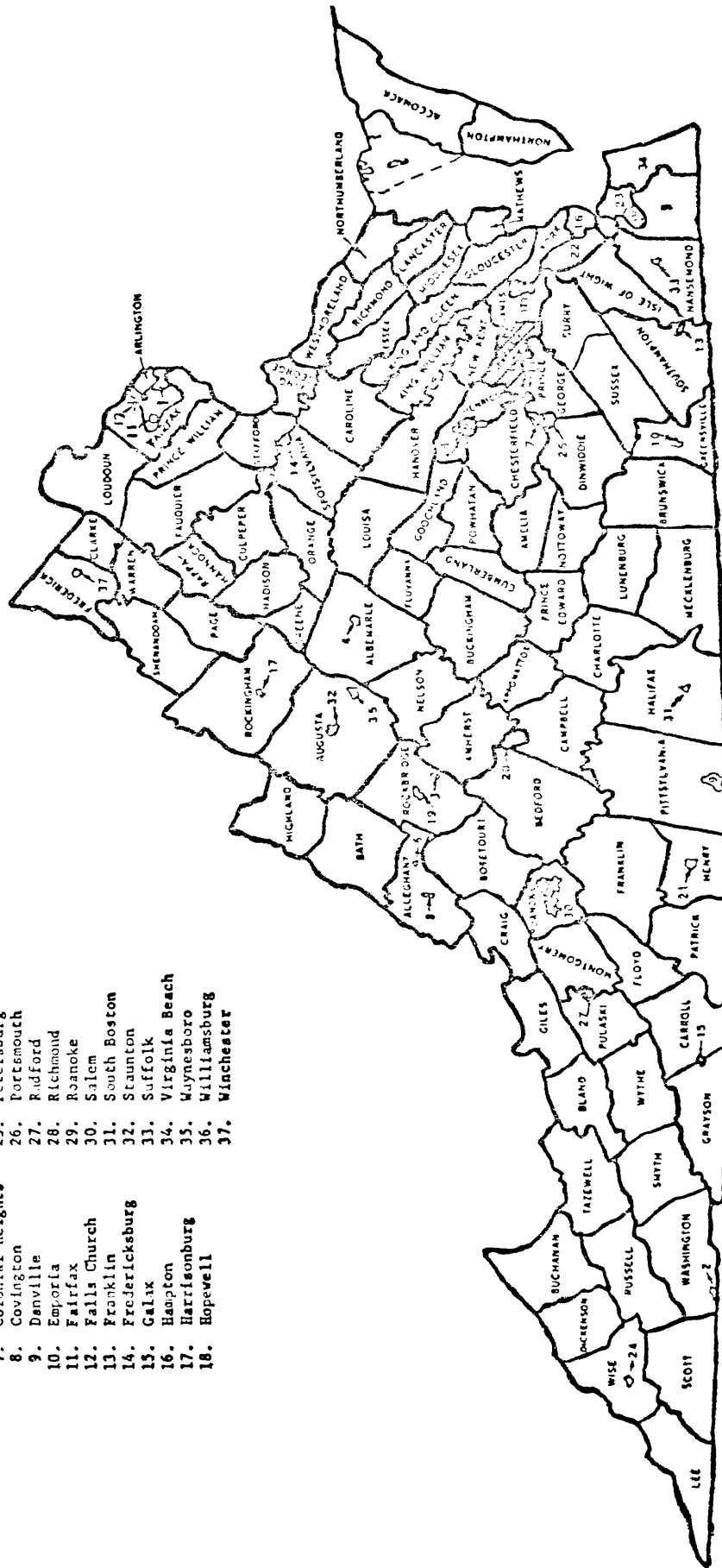
1. Alexandria
2. Bristol
3. Buena Vista
4. Charlottesville
5. Chesapeake
6. Clifton Forge
7. Colonial Heights
8. Covington
9. Danville
10. Emporia
11. Fairfax
12. Falls Church
13. Franklin
14. Fredericksburg
15. Galix
16. Hampton
17. Harrisonburg
18. Hopewell
19. Lexington
20. Lynchburg
21. Martinsville
22. Newport News
23. Norfolk
24. Norton
25. Petersburg
26. Portsmouth
27. Radford
28. Richmond
29. Roanoke
30. Salem
31. South Boston
32. Staunton
33. Suffolk
34. Virginia Beach
35. Waynesboro
36. Williamsburg
37. Winchester



Democratic



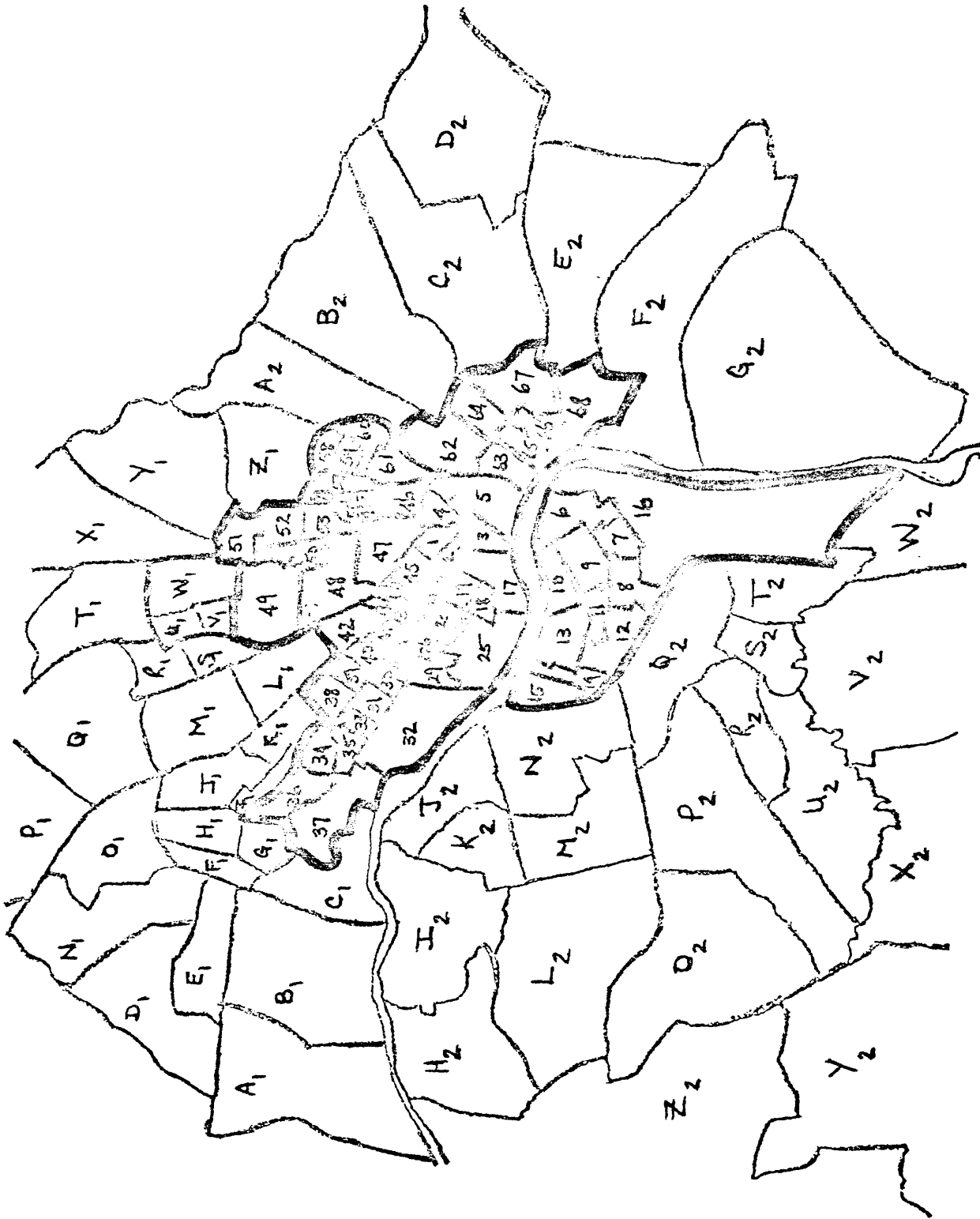
Republican



RICHMOND URBAN PRECINCTS

Henrico
A1 Nleybeury
B1 Derbyshire
C1 Tuckahoe
D1 Pinchbeck
E1 Freeman
F1 Forest Hill
G1 Rollingwood
H1 Spottswood
I1 Monument Hill
J1 Crestview
K1 Westwood
L1 Glendale

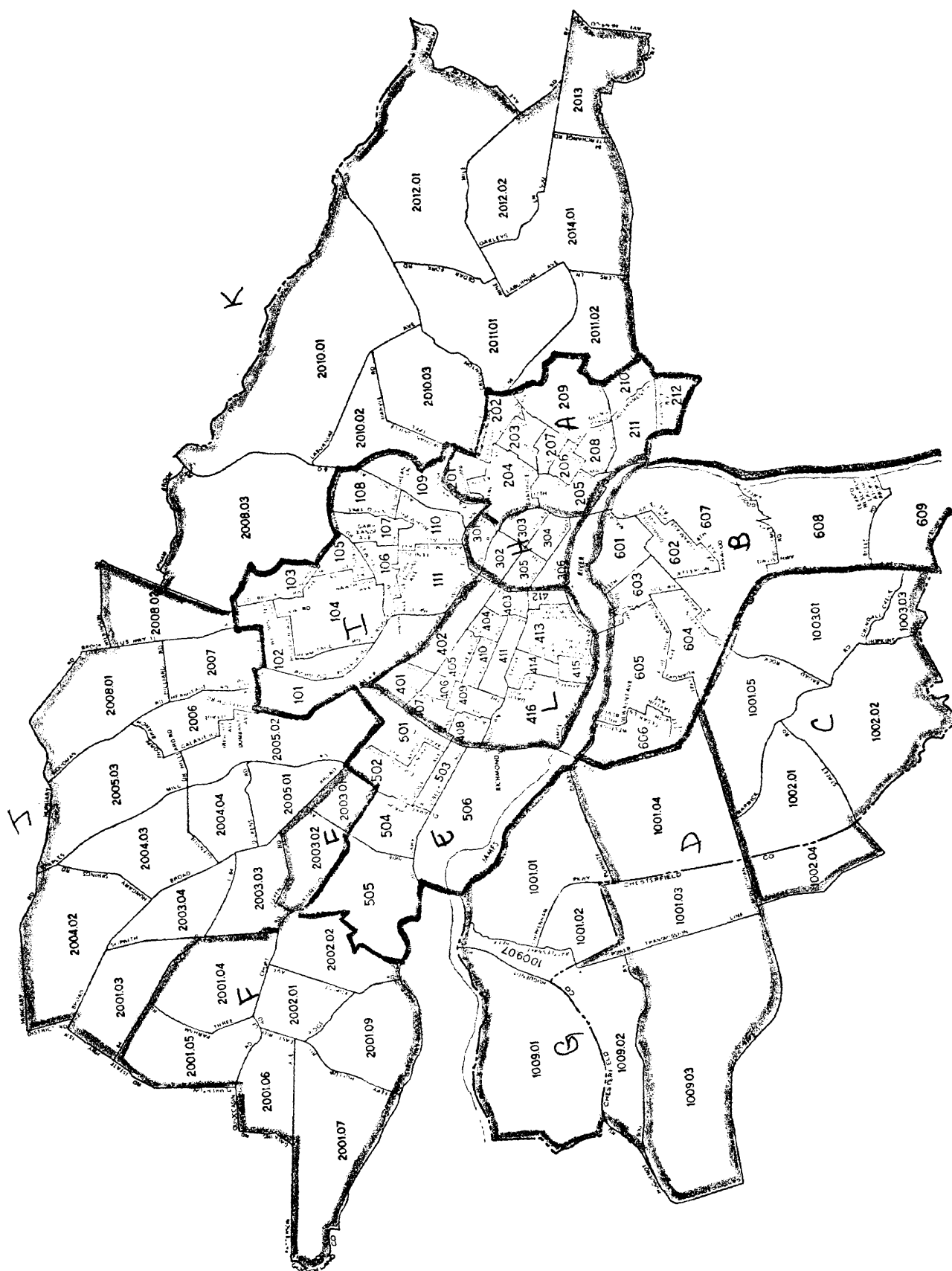
M1	Bethlehem
N1	Ridge
O1	Skipwith
P1	Tucker
Q1	Hungary
R1	Hilliard
S1	Summit Court
T1	Hermitage
U1	Lakeside
V1	Bryan Park
W1	Bloomingtondale
X1	Chamberlayne
Y1	Brook Hill
Z1	Highland Gardens
A2	Glen Lea
B2	Ratcliffe
C2	Glen Echo
D2	Highland Springs
E2	Hontrose
F2	Eanes
G2	Sullivans
Chesterfield	
H2	Old Gun
I2	Stony Point
J2	Granite
K2	Southampton
L2	Bon Air
M2	Crestwood
N2	German School
O2	Wagstaff Circle
P2	Elkhardt
Q2	McGuire
R2	Warwick
S2	Broad Rock
T2	Falling Creek
U2	Belmont
V2	Beulah
W2	Drewry's Bluff
X2	Courthouse
Y2	Horner's Store
Z2	Midlothian



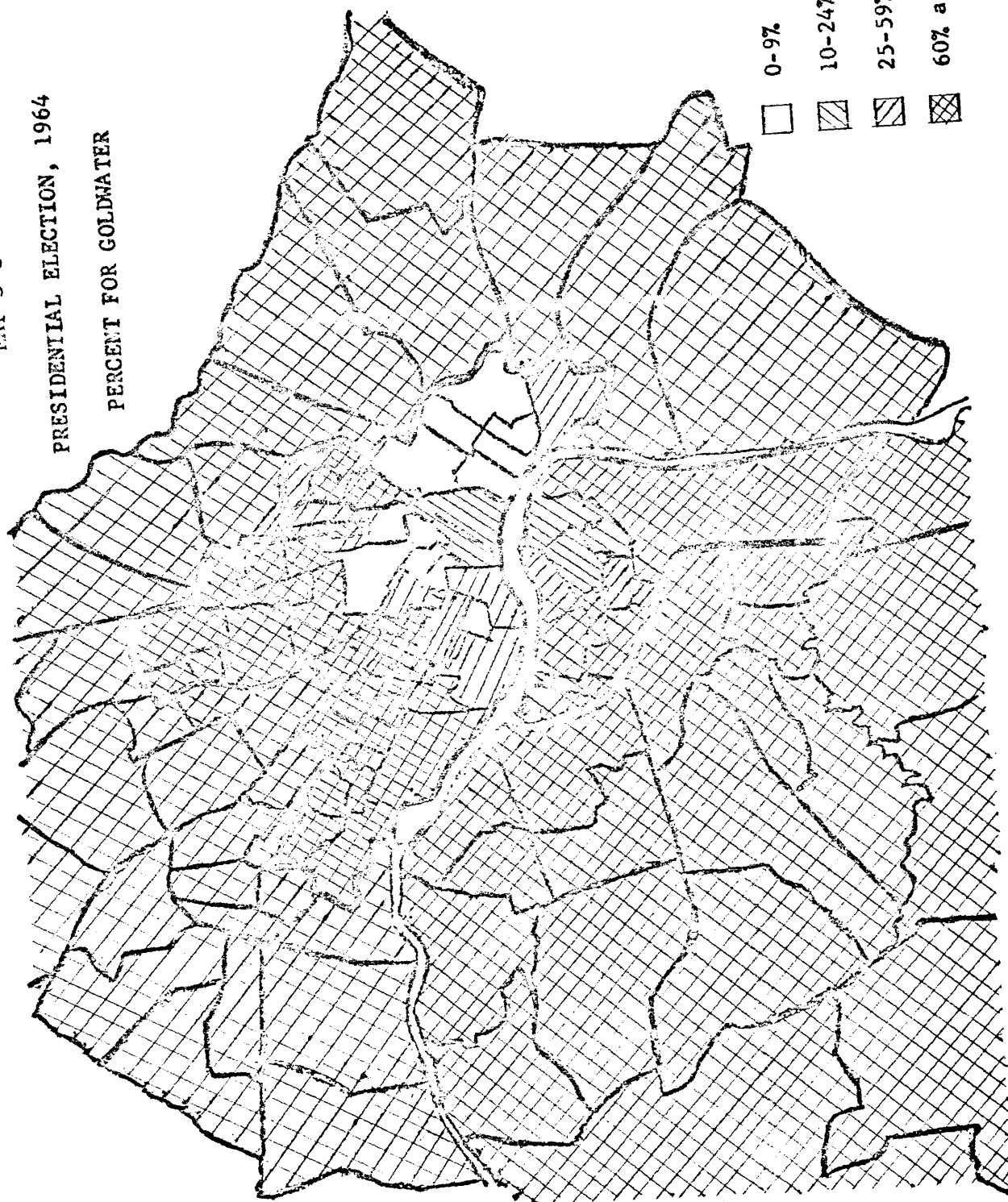
MAP 3-B

RICHMOND URBAN TRACTS

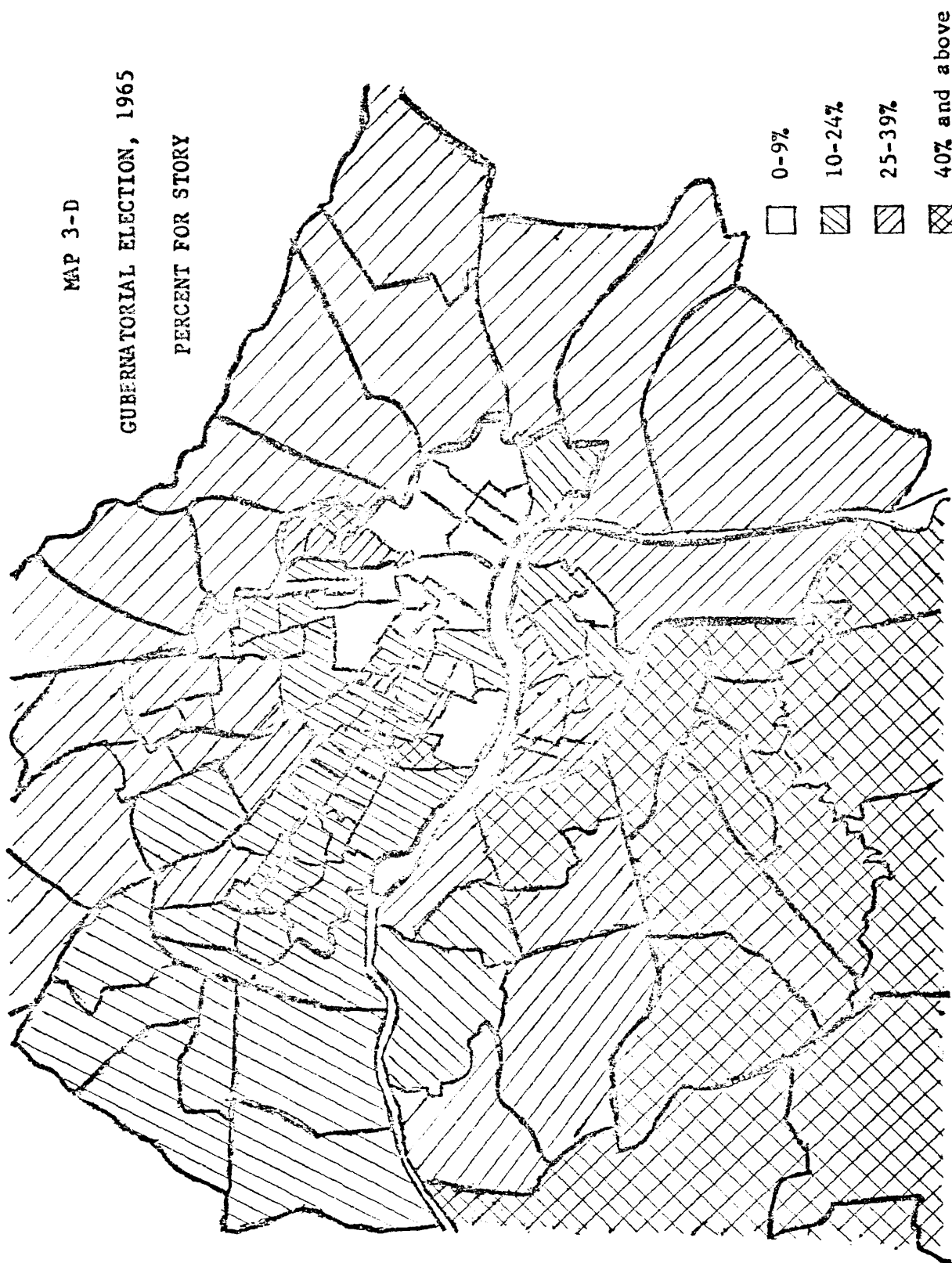
A	East End
B	Southside
C, D	Chesterfield "Southside"
E	West End
F	Henrico "West End"
G	Chesterfield "West End"
H	Downtown
I	Northside
J	Northwest Henrico Suburbs
K	Northeast Henrico Suburbs
L	The Fan

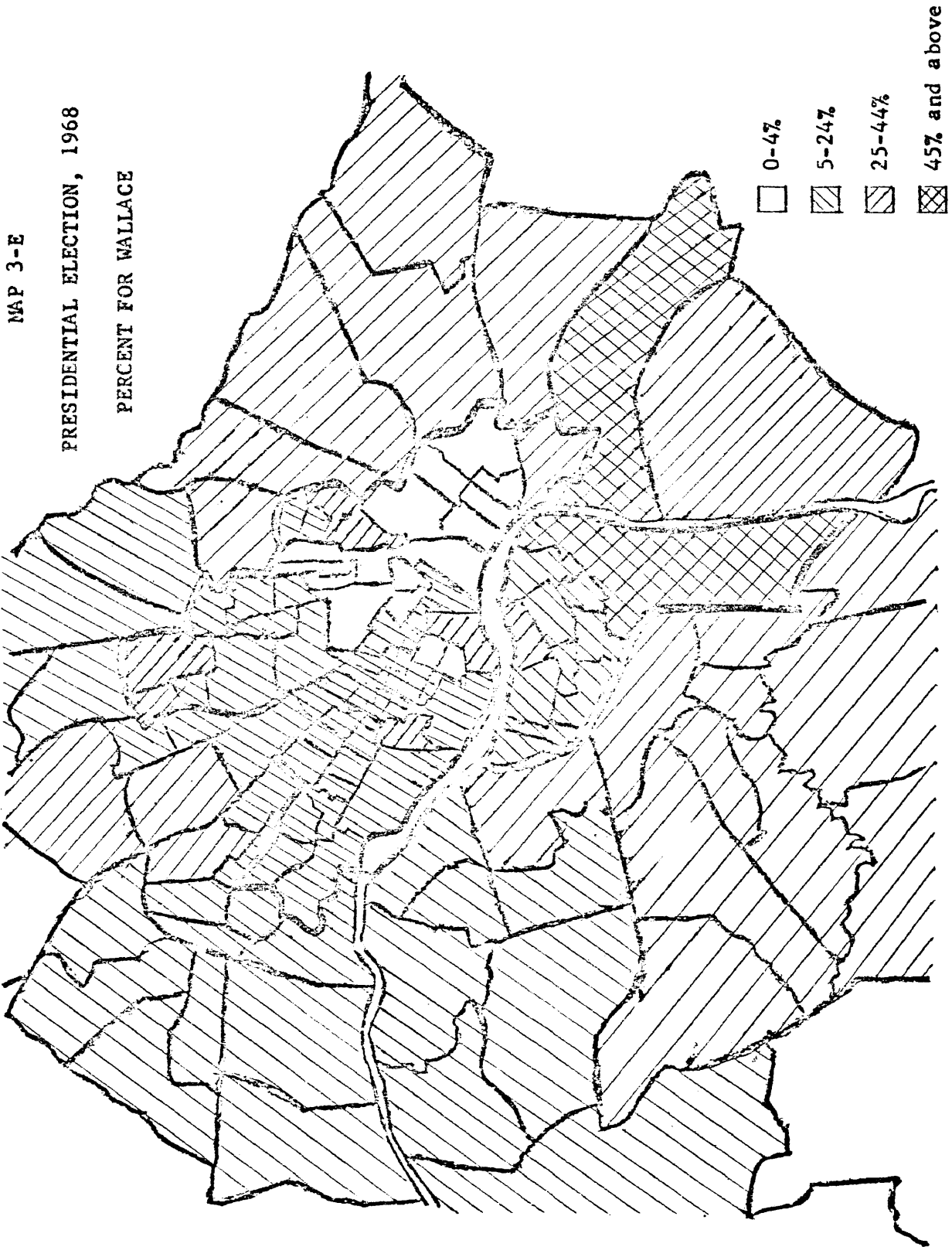


MAP 3-C
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1964
PERCENT FOR GOLDWATER

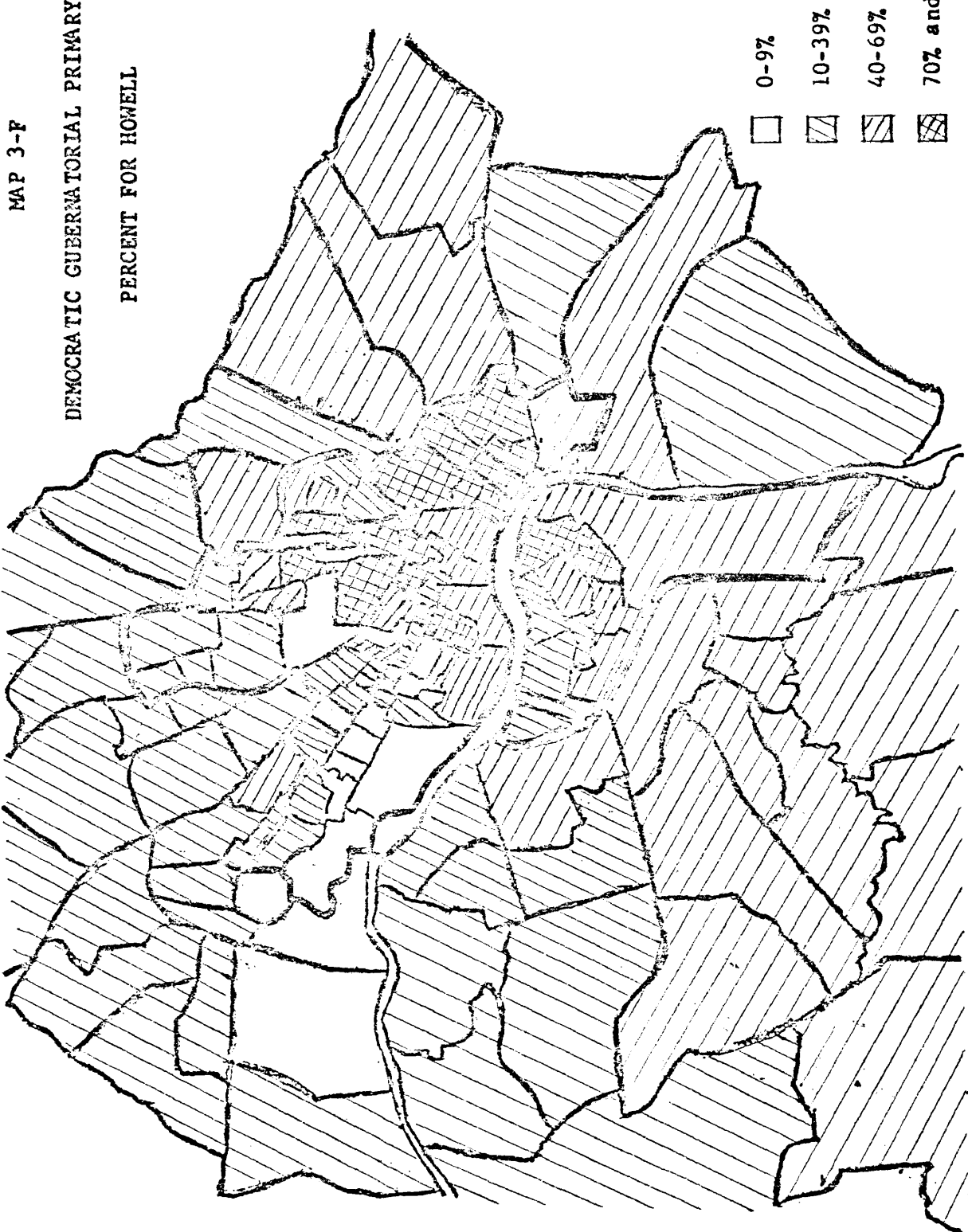


MAP 3-D
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, 1965
PERCENT FOR STORY

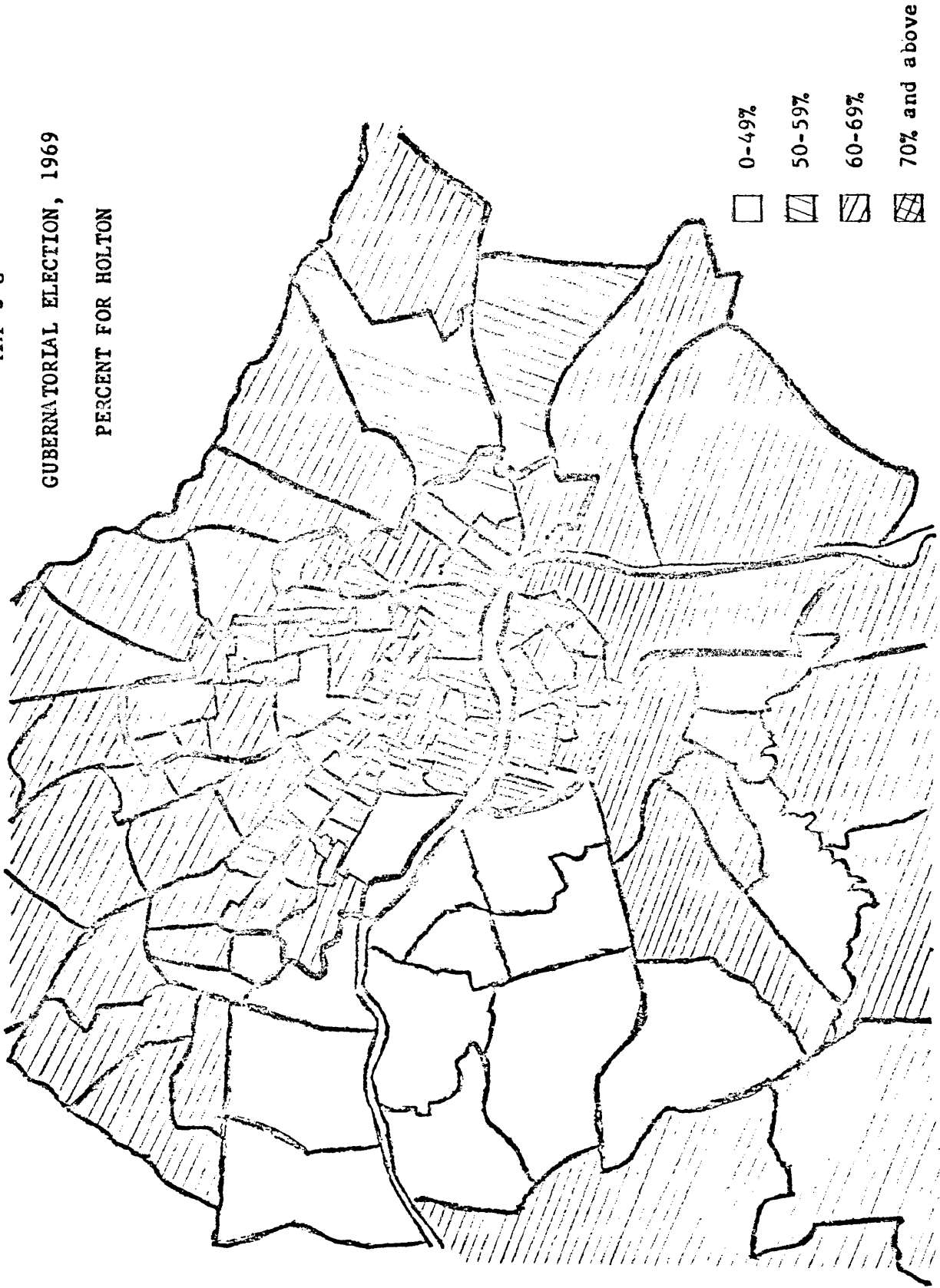


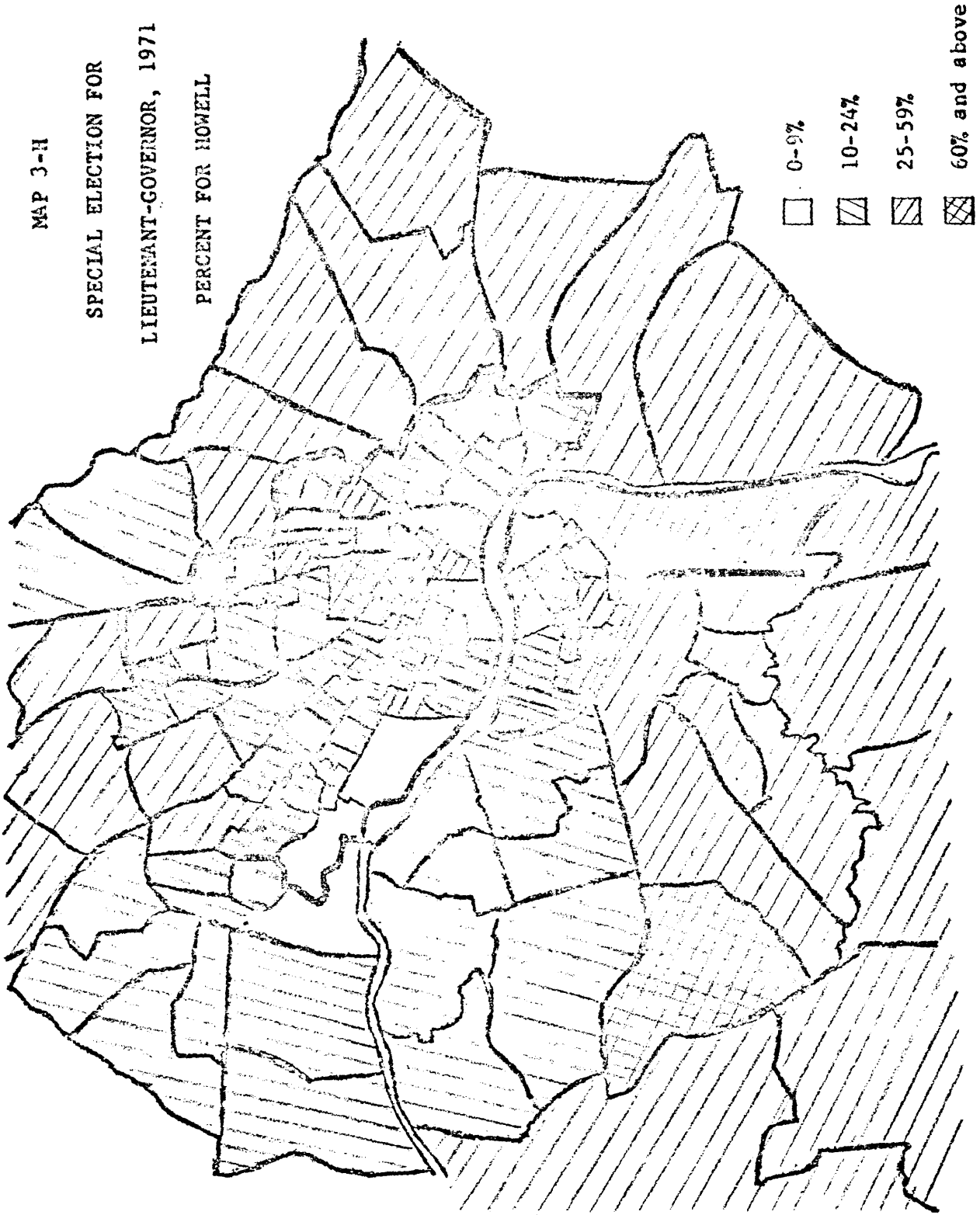


MAP 3-F
 DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY, 1969
 PERCENT FOR HOWELL



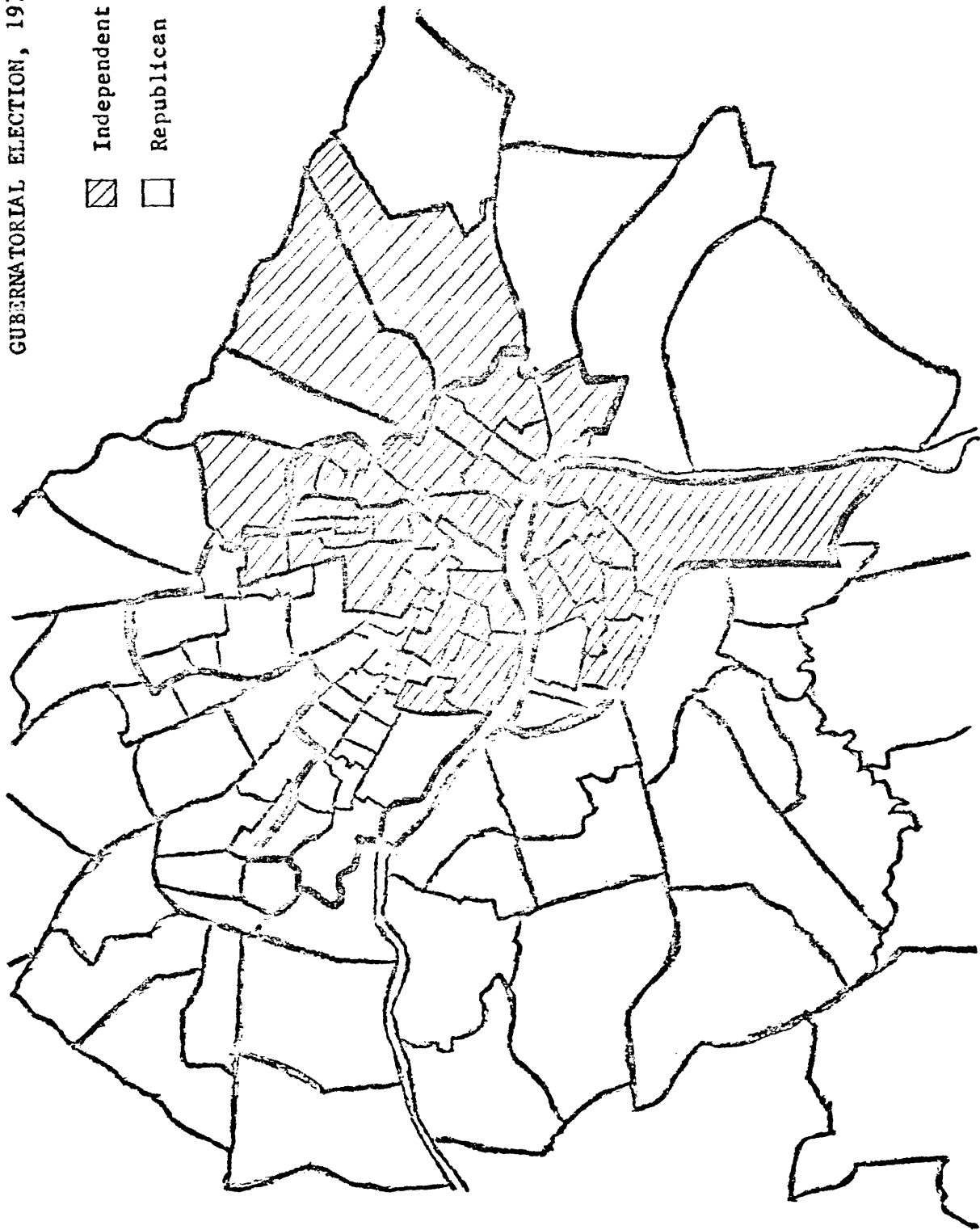
MAP 3-G
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, 1969
PERCENT FOR HOLTON



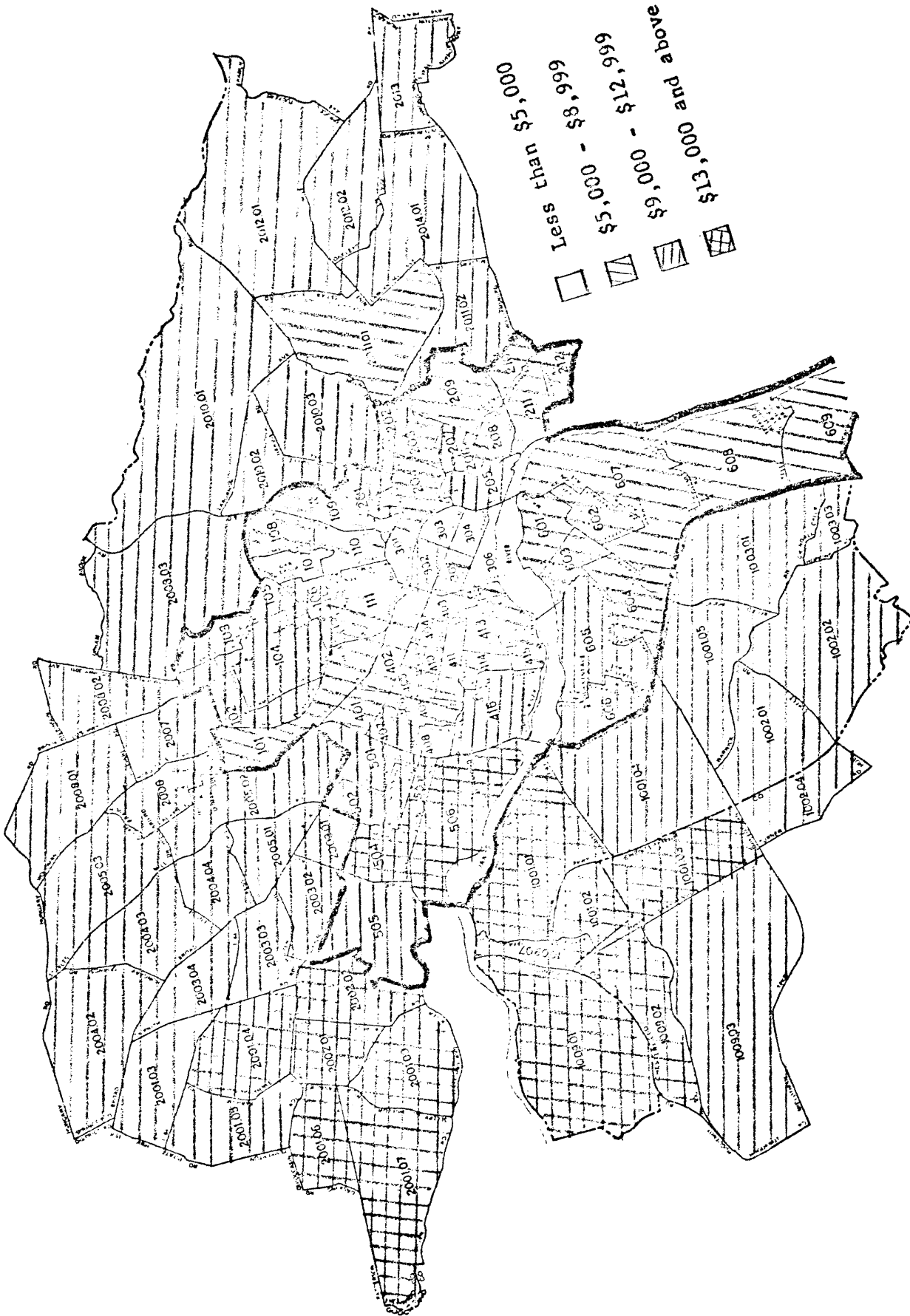


MAP 3-1

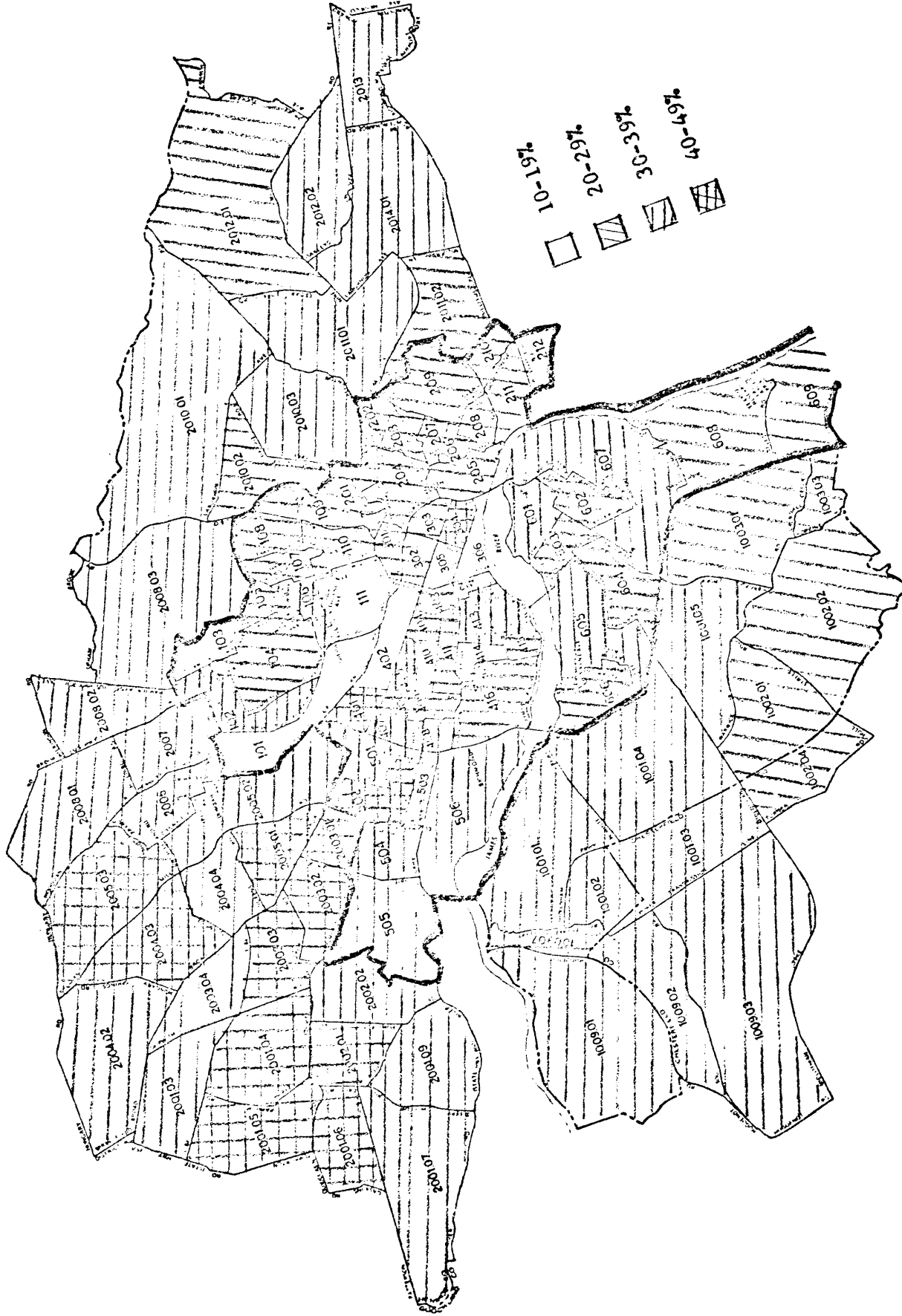
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, 1973



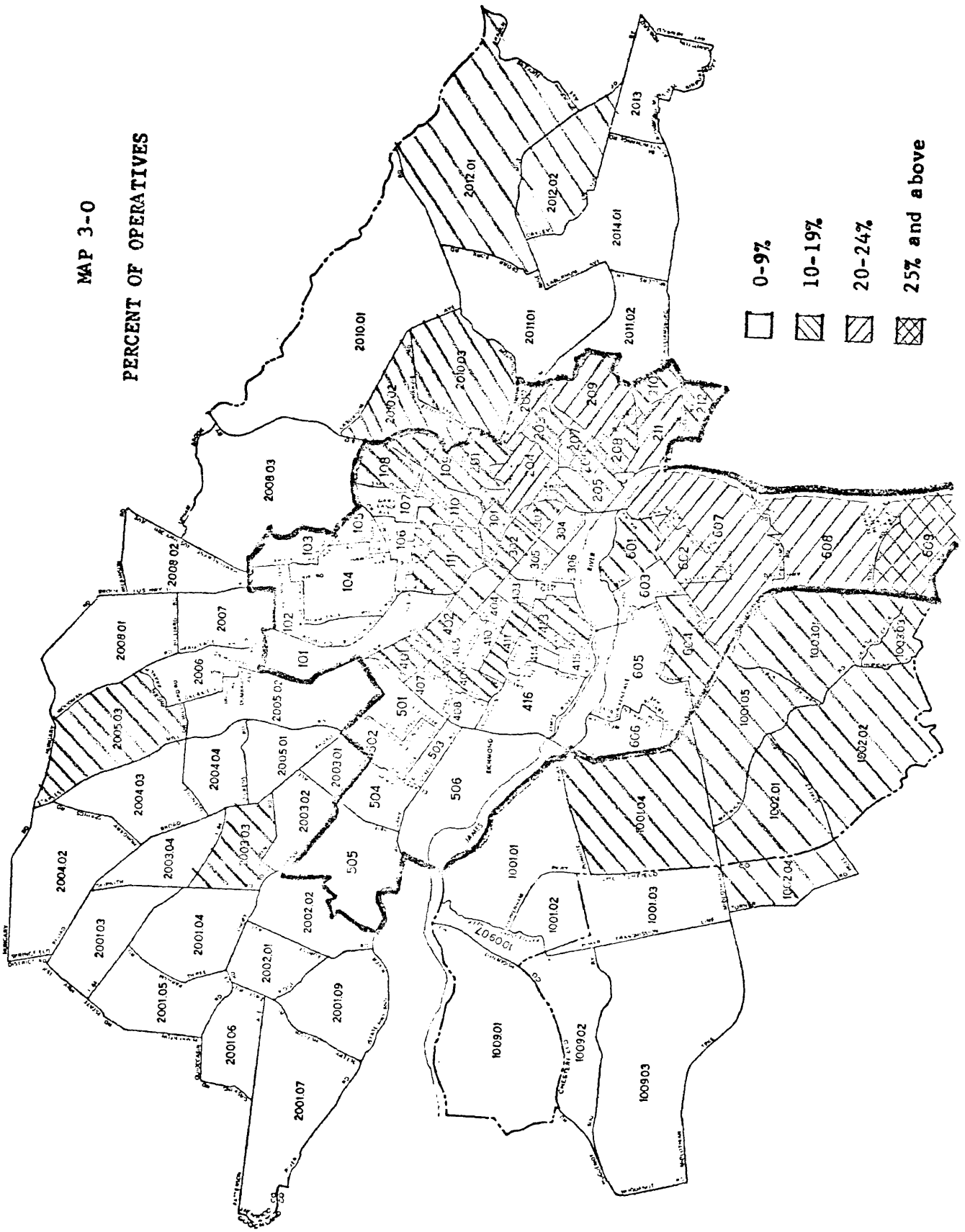
1-3 DATA
MEDIAN INCOME



PERCENT OF BUSINESS
MAP 3-N



MAP 3-0
PERCENT OF OPERATIVES



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